Daily Report

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Student Strikes Continue; Opposition in Support

Interior Ministry 'Ready To Take Action'

AU2606144090 Sofia BTA in English 1428 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—The BTA has received a declaration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs which reads:

"The sit-in strike, which students began on the premises of the St. Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia on June 11 to 12, 1990, has been supported by students in other institutes of higher learning. Effective sit-ins were declared in some of them, too. All this has led to a serious disruption, and in some institutions to the discontinuance of classes, term examinations and entrance examinations and of the overall normal collegiate proceedings.

"Spokesmen speaking on behalf of the strike committees have already approached the media to list the striking students' demands which have repeatedly changed since the beginning of the strike. The demands have escalated to attempts at direct interference in the work of the supreme bodies of state power and administration.

"Mindful of its constitutional functions, the Ministry of Internal Affairs cannot support what is essentially a political action which is carried out on the premises of autonomous and depoliticized educational establishments, an action which prevents non-striking students, applicants for admission and lecturers from realizing their legally protected rights, freedoms and interests; an action whose mechanism of implementation has to be clearly assessed under the provisions of the Penal Code and which in any case constitutes an unwarranted breach of the lawfully established public order.

"In connection with the above, and provided they receive a formal order from the Prosecutor's Office, the competent authorities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are ready to take action in order to restore order and the normal operation of the higher educational establishments."

SDS Organizes Support Rally

AU2506192890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] A rally in support of the students on strike was convened at Sofia's Aleksandur Nevski Square today. The rally was organized by the initiative committee of the (?democratic students union), which is in solidarity with the students on strike. The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] is among the organizers of the rally. [passage indistinct]

Vasil Petrov, spokesman of the students' strike committee took the floor at the rally.

A SDS' declaration was disseminated this afternoon. It reads as follows:

Taking into consideration the unequal conditions of the election campaign and [words indistinct], the SDS Coordination Council finds the election results to be manipulated and partially falsified. Despite this, we accept that a final decision on the legality is subject should be adopted by the Grand National Assembly. In the meantime the Coordination Council evaluates the election results as a (?first success) of the SDS.

The SDS will do everything within its power to guarantee the adoption of democratic institutions and the implementation of democracy.

We are facing the forthcoming local administrative elections. They are an opportunity for the final and irreversible elimination of all structures belonging to the totalitarian system.

The Aleksandur Nevski Square rally continues.

Further on SDS Support

AU2606064490 Sofia BTA in English 2019 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Jun (BTA)—"The opposition supports the students initiative, the spontaneous protest of the students against the government over the election abuses," said Mr Dimitur Ludzhev, member of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), opening a rally which the SDS called here this evening in support of the students strikes in Sofia and around in the country.

Mr Ludzhev blamed the government for remaining silent and for refusing to meet the students halfway. "The government is stalling because time is on its side, and the opposition is here because it supports the students demands."

"We back the position of our children," a student's mother said. "They want the truth and will not be manipulated the way their parents have been for so many years."

Mr Vasil Petrov, spokesman for the strike committee, said that the students will fight to the end for their demands: to make public the whole truth about the elections because they have information of many more irregularities than those which have been announced. They accuse the television of partisan bias and demand the resignation of its chief, Mr Pavel Pisarev. They want the results of an expert examination of a videotape compromising the president. Father Khristofor Subev of the Spasenie (Salvation) Christian Union urged for an international expert examination.

The students strikes have been supported by the Committee for Civil Disobedience, by teachers and employees of Sofia University, by the Independent Association for the Protection of Human Rights, the Alternative Socialist Party, the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, the Social Democratic Party (Non-Marxists), the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, the Bulgarian National Radical Party, the Ecoglasnost movement, the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, the Civil Initiative Movement, the Radical Democratic Party, entire

research institutes and many intellectuals. In Sofia, 70,000 signatures have been collected in support of the students demands.

The rally was addressed by the opposition leaders Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, Dr Petur Dertliev, Prof Dr Elka Konstantinova, Assoc. Prof. Nikolay Vasilev, Mr Emil Koshlukov, the poetess Mrs Blaga Dimitrova, and the editor-in-chief of the "DEMOKRATSIYA" daily Mr Yordan Vasilev.

The striking students today asked political parties and organizations to help them hold a news conference to make public the recorded violations of the electoral law.

Sit-ins were declared today at the Higher Institute of Forestry in Sofia and the Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Institute in Gabrovo. The medical institutes around the country and the higher Institute of Economics in Sofia went on a token strike.

Veliko Turnovo Strike Enters 13th Day

AU2506141990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] A group of students have occupied the Kiril i Metodi University in Veliko Turnovo for the last 13 days. Some of them are on an indefinite hunger strike which began five days ago. The students who are on hunger strike are under the permanent medical observation.

An open letter was submitted to the mass media today in which the students declare that the hunger strike will continue until the chairman of the Television Committee has resigned. Actually, the implementation of the agreement reached on 20 June 1990 between the Rector's Council and the students' strike committee, which specified the conditions for performing the most pressing activities in the Veliko Turnovo University, has been suspended for the time being. A session of the Academic Council scheduled for tomorrow is expected to introduce new changes in the schedules for the preparation and holding of entrance examinations.

The students of the Gabrovo Higher Electrotechnical Institute declared a two-day warning strike. They are in solidarity with their colleagues from the other seven higher educational institutions in the country and with their demands. The Gabrovo students warn that they will declare an indefinite strike unless their demands are met.

Rectors, deputy rectors, deans, and deputy deans of the autonomous medical institutes in the country will not be members of any political party or organization during their mandate. This was decided at a session of the rectors from these higher educational institutions and the decision will be enforced as of today.

Medical Students Lend Support

AU2506203890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] The students from the higher medical educational institutions in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Pleven, and Stara Zagora issued a declaration stating that they will join the student strikes and that they support the latter's demands which are already known. Theses demands include submitting all electoral violations to the media, an independent experts' opinion on the 14 December video [video on which Mladenov allegedly makes statement that tanks should be called in] recording which was viewed from the election campaign studio, and resignation of the Television Committee chairman.

The students announce a symbolic strike as a form of protest, but considering that they cannot rely on the effect of the symbolic strike, they declare that if their demands are not satisfied within a week, they will declare a real strike as an extreme measure.

Appeals for 'Calm,' 'Tolerance'

AU2606083690 Sofia BTA in English 2129 GMT 25 Jun 90

["Political Forces Call For Civil Peace and National Concord"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Jun (BTA)—Late this evening the major political forces adopted an address to the nation, calling for sensible action, calm and tolerance.

The appeal for civil peace and national concord was adopted by the Public Council on the Ethnic Issue, comprising representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Chief Mufti's Office, political parties and public organizations.

The appeal notes the cases of "flaring up political passions and mounting tensions at some places" due to impatience for a speedier and more radical settlement of a dire legacy of problems arising from the inconsistent policy and the abuses committed by the totalitarian regime with respect to the ethnic issue.

The political forces call on all citizens to distance themselves from unconstitutional actions which can lead to a complication of the situation on the eve of the convocation of the Grand National Assembly. They call on the law-enforcement authorities and on the entire people to support the efforts for the maintenance of law and order in the spirit of the international human rights instruments and of the National Assembly Declaration of January 15, 1990.

The shaping of a consistent policy on the ethnic issue which should have nationwide approval must be a foremost priority for the Grand National Assembly, the appeal says.

Prime Minister To Be Nominated 'Within One Week'

AU2506192790 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Jun (BTA)—Within one week the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)

will approve a prime minister nomination which will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly, due to meet in session on July 10, said Mr Aleksandur Lilov, the leader of the BSP, which won the parliamentary elections, in a televised statement this evening.

Mr Lilov said that the BSP wants a government of national concord with a broad power base and a competent composition. His party is negotiating with the other political forces. The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the second largest faction in parliament, remains committed to its refusal to take part in a coalition government.

If the BSP-proposed government is voted down, a consensus will be needed on four priority problems: A new constitution, the ethnic issue, environmental protection and the economic reform, which cannot be solved without agreement among the parties and without national concord.

Agrarian Daily Analyzes Election Results

AU2406202390 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 21 Jun 90 p 4

[Sociologist Senior Scientific Fellow Khristo Domozetov article: "Competition Is Just Beginning"]

[Excerpts] People who did not believe the preliminary public opinion polls may have been shocked by the election results. Frankly speaking, we must admit that we, who heard the cheers of approval by the crowds of Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] supporters, were surprised by the distribution of votes. This does not mean that the author of the article himself did not reflect on the polls of the National Opinion Research Center which by mid-May 1990 indicated that, according to forecasts, approximately 42 percent of the votes would be in favor of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and only 10.8 percent for the BZNS, with 21 percent of voters undecided. We were evidently misled by our credulity regarding our opponents and regarding our wish that the voters may change their minds.

However, let us first of all admit our own faults. Over the last 44 years, our older generation had forgotten how to conduct an election campaign, while the younger generations were not used to it. Unlike the BSP and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], we failed to apply foreign experience. Our election campaign started with delay (because of the postponed reunification) and did not proceed at the required pace, sometimes it was even too slack. Election posters, representing the candidates, arrived only a few days prior to the elections in the provinces, and could not compete with those of our opponents, as to their quality. However, this is not the basic reason for our failure. It cannot be attributed to a lack of enthusiasm on part of our members, either. [passage omitted]

Nevertheless, the long decades of carrying the "cross" of subservience imposed on us by the restrictions of the totalitarian regime and the increasing age of our members substantially drained our energies and enthusiasm in the "game for victory." It is from now on that we should look for new resources.

We should by no means underestimate the long conspirative and organizational experience of the ruling party. [passage omitted]

The rare appearances of our candidates and their representatives at local rallies, despite their eloquence, could not resist the daily pressure of those who had committed so many unlawful actions with impunity throughout the last decades. [passage omitted]

The opposition newspapers were ineffective, they reached only the capital and the larger cities. Some people may have never seen them. Personal contact was the only efficient resource that remained. However, unlike the BSP and SDS leaders, who found time to appear in nearly all places, our leaders did not appear, and even some of the leading candidates on the multimandate tickets did not visit their constituencies.

As a result of all this, our party will be represented only by a symbolic parliamentary group, while half of the future parliament will be composed of the BSP's "Komsomol intake," by presumably uncorrupted, but also politically inexperienced people. They shall form the obedient majority which the old nomenklatura will try to use as a cover for the breaches of law committed during the Zhivkov era, to transfer its capital to other companies, and to turn into a rich, but innocent caste. [passage omitted]

The BZNS is expected to develop its strategy and tactics from this early moment to involve honest, young, and intelligent people who, hardly out of school, should be able to address their own age group and defend our progressive ideas. There is no more important task today than to educate the newly emerging activists of the Bulgarian Agrarian Youth Union. At the same time, we should not distance ourselves from political education, we should apply all modern methods of work and influence to open the eyes of the people from the older generation who are too engrossed in their work. It is particularly important to expand personal contacts between our activists and the population, and start looking for worthy candidates for the forthcoming municipal elections at this early stage. [passage omitted]

However, while we should pursue our honest and correct participation in the "game," we should not only "stand on defensive positions and renounce attacks"—we should fight within the framework of the rules. There is no victory without persevering training and militant spirit. Even great parties, such as the Democratic Party in the United States and the Labor Party in Britain have been in opposition throughout several terms of office. However, they stubbornly pursue their preparations for each coming election round. This is our fate—to engage in a thorough analysis of election results, and after training our young cadres and using all modern methods of struggle, to proceed toward the

forthcoming election match—not only for the sake of victory, but for the sake of democracy in Bulgaria, for the well being of all our compatriots.

Foreign Aid Weighed Against Election Results

AU2506125890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
22 Jun 90 p 4

[Petur Gornenski commentary: "Dispute Was Superfluous"]

[Text] The election dispute over foreign aid to Bulgaria from the West was superfluous. Many experts from various Western companies and international finance and economic institutions had, long before the elections, unambiguously maintained: Bulgaria needs aid and this aid will be given not for the sake of this or that government, but for the sake of implementing specific efficient economic projects. However, throughout the entire time the opposition maintained that Bulgaria can rely on Western aid only if the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] wins the elections.

The EC which is coordinator and executor of the program of the 24 most developed industrial countries—the so-called FAR [expansion unknown] program—has also not specified any political preferences. At the beginning of the year the Bulgarian Government presented in its memorandum to the EC and the group of the 24 its thoughts on stabilizing the economy and the transition toward a market economy, as well as its views of the foreign financial aid's areas of priority. Afterward, EC experts pointed out that agriculture and environmental protection will be in the forefront of the areas in which we shall receive aid. At the recent Dublin meeting of the EC ministers of environmental protection it was confirmed that Bulgaria will be among the states which will receive technological and financial assistance for improving its ecology. The work of the EC experts on agriculture in our country is taking place in a successful manner. The projects that will receive aid on the basis of the FAR program have been specified. The EC Commission sees no problems that could prevent the implementation of its program in Bulgaria. What remains is to implement the necessary procedure related to adopting the decision on the aid.

Superfluous or not the dispute over the Western aid became one of the election campaign's topics. In the final analysis it absolutely, clearly demonstrated the propaganda goals pursued in the campaign. It became clear that the 24 will implement their promise to cooperate. The conditions they posed for receiving aid are related to strengthening the process of democratization and introducing market principles in economy. The elections showed that democracy is not an empty word in Bulgaria. As far as the market economy is concerned—the politicians, economists, and jurists will have enough work until they ensure the necessary conditions for this inevitable transition.

The main question that remains is when this aid will be received. First of all the Council of Ministers of the 24 must adopt the appropriate political decision. Afterward, a bureaucratic decision must be adopted. Finally, the entire process must acquire legal authorization. According to some of the EC experts, the aid to our agriculture will be provided this fall.

Recent Emigration, 'Brain Drain' Discussed

AU2406195090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
21 Jun 90 p 4

[Scientific Fellow E. Todorova article: "Is There a Brain Drain in Bulgaria?"]

[Text] Our mass media have recently been bombarding us with facts on citizens leaving the country. However, not one of these reports has made comparisons with 1989, with other countries, or with the number of those who have returned. To be precise, I would say that, as long as the Ministry of Internal Affairs has not been submitted data on how long the individuals in question are staying abroad, namely on the kind of visas they have applied for, and on how many of them have returned, the report of the Central Statistical Administration about the number of people leaving the country is absolutely irrelevant. What does it matter, for example, that the author of this article herself has left the country three times in 1989 and has returned, if according to the "investigators" of "the brain drain," my three visits abroad are counted as if three scientific fellows have left the country for good within the same period.

As a person who has worked on the problem of the scientific cadres' migration under the conditions of an alleviated passport system, I would like to draw attention at the fact that neither in September 1989 (when the new passport regime was introduced), nor for the time being, has any special, collective eagerness to emigrate been observed.

There are at least three reasons for this fact. The first is that our scientists are living in a noncompetitive state, as a result to their relative isolation (compared with scientists in other countries, but not compared with other strata of our population). The second reason is that scientists in our country are working under very difficult conditions which have somewhat disqualified them and would require a long period of adjustment to the different working conditions existing abroad.

The third reason is that our scientific workers are perhaps the only category of people in our country who have relatively large opportunities to travel abroad, and therefore realize that scientific development in most countries is a priority state policy and is implemented through state and private subsidies. This means that no country whatsoever relies on "imported brains," but they all prefer to develop their own, national science.

The competitive power of scientific workers depends, to the greatest extent, on the potential of domestic science and only partially on "stealing" technologies, or on obtaining financial resources for applied research. Our scientists perfectly understand this fact.

What our public seems not to understand, or not to accept is the fact that the standard of scientific cadres is much higher than that of other professional categories in our country. Scientific contacts are the motor of scientific work and of creative thought in sciences. Today, science is much more specialized than ever before. Hundreds of scientific centers and international organizations exist all over the world, which guarantee the necessary mobility and exchange of students and teachers, of specialists, and scientists. The results of the "brain drain" did not eliminate small universities, or scientific institutions throughout world, nor did they restrict scientific centers to five in Europe and five in the United States as was the case in the past century.

We should take into consideration the fact that our scientists were rather isolated in the past and that our universities were not accessible to foreigners. Nevertheless, in the near future, the interest in Bulgarian science (apart from the formal, bureaucratic measures facilitating contacts) should be most highly stimulated by our cadres' good performance abroad.

For this reason, let us not keep meticulous track of our scientific workers' trips abroad, especially considering that the majority of these trips are financed by foreign countries, and let us not prevent the natural processes of scientific contacts from developing in a normal fashion.

We all had the opportunity to experience the influence of the mass media in fanning various psychoses and passions. Let us not try to restrict the incipient process of the people's mobility which is absolutely normal.

For a long time, our scientific workers were accused of enjoying the limelight and accomplishing very little, while today we witness an "unexpected" concern about "our national wealth." On the other hand, if this should be a welcome opportunity for political manipulations (such as the slogan: "Unless there are drastic changes, all our intellectuals will leave Bulgaria"), such manipulations are rather insipid and can hardly stem from the circles of our scientific intelligentsia.

The data available since the beginning of 1990 and by mid-April, indicate that only 25 percent of the scientific cadres were, and still are, inclined to emigrate and work abroad, unless it is for a few years without interrupting their links with scientific institutions in our country. In this respect we can add that the majority of people eager to go abroad are those who have never done any postgraduate studies in foreign countries. We can only wish such people "all the best" for their studies and work abroad, because their educational development can only be to the advantage of Bulgaria's development.

DUMA Reviews Foodstuffs Shortage, Prospects

AU2506114290 Sofia BTA in English
1012 GMT 25 Jun 90

["June Forecast Is Better"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Jun (BTA)—In the five months since the beginning of the year the output of the food industry accounts for 37.11 percent of the expected annual production, today's DUMA announces in a signed article. This is 7.3 percent less compared with the same period last year.

The market has been supplied with 3 to 5 percent less of meat, milk, vegetable oil and eggs. The situation with the supplies of sugar, sugar products, rice, harricot beans, canned vegetables and tobacco products is worse. There is more flour, macaroni, cheese, milk butter, fruit preserves, beer and alcohol in the market.

It is also pointed out that with the liberalization of agriculture potatoes are almost five times more, fresh fruit—51 percent more, fresh vegetables 5 times more. The quantities of meat and milk purchased in may this year are considerably larger. The prediction for June is also better.

Author expects that the shortage for a great part of foods will be made up for. The most unclear is the situation with the supplies of sugar and children's food which have dropped by 21.6 percent.

Kurdzhali Environmental Protection Rally Reported

AU2506141790 Sofia BTA in English
1344 GMT 25 Jun 90

["The Public Protects Nature"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Jun (BTA)—The United Front for Ecological Protection of the Town of Kurdzhali (southern Bulgaria) sent the president and the Grand National Assembly a declaration insisting that the region is declared ecologically disastrous.

The declaration insists for the termination of the toxic lead production of the Lead and Zinc Complex Company until it is normalized and the concentration of lead aerosols are kept within the admissible limits. This was done in relation with the announcement of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare that 42 percent of the growing generation in Kurdzhali are with injured health condition.

A proposal is made to consider again the regulation according to which the Arda River was said to be used as an industrial channel in the region from the Rudozem Dressing Factory to the Kurdzhali Dam.

'Republican Party' Leader Popov Interviewed

AU2506114090 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI
in Bulgarian 22-23 Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Dr. Aleksandur Popov, "chairman of the Republican Party in Bulgaria," by Simeon Danevski; place and date not given: "Bridges Between Parties Are Necessary"; first paragraph is VECHERNI NOVINI introduction]

[Text] A brief announcement on the radio and in the press, concerning the meeting of the leaders of the

political forces in the country, evoked many commentaries and reactions. The interest was prompted by the agreement of those parties and movements which are not members of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to participate in a future coalition government proposed by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] even before it won the elections on 10 and 17 June. The meeting was initiated by Dr. Aleksandur Popov, chairman of the Republican Party in Bulgaria.

[Popov] We do not have time to waste. Our people are dangerously divided into two parts and, if a rapid consolidation of the forces does not take place, one could not predict the consequences of this political division. Therefore we proposed this meeting in which 24 parties and movements from the entire opposition bloc, including leaders of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, took part. Some parties left the meeting because they expected that those who won the elections—the BSP—should not take part in the future government. What an example of political shortsightedness!

[Danevski] Did you reach an agreement?

[Popov] Yes, 15 parties and movements agreed to prepare an address to Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the country, and the Great National Assembly, in which we announce our readiness to participate in a future coalition government, if invited by the BSP.

[Danevski] Do you expect such an invitation?

[Popov] Frankly, yes. Why do I think so? Well, first of all, because the present situation in Bulgaria, which we all must put above anything else, requires the formation of a coalition government, which will be positively greeted in many Western countries. Let us not deceive ourselves—the Western democracies expect a coalition government, which would best correspond to the people's interests, and will conduct a policy which is close to the optimal possibilities of the country and its economy at present. Our parties, regardless of how small they are, have specialists with exceptionally high erudition and professional training, who by no means are inferior to those of the SDS. In addition, it has not been established anywhere that a member of the government must necessarily be a member of the Parliament. Then why not accept the hand we are offering?

[Danevski] However, there also are other political forces, which won many seats in the Parliament, but they do not want to participate in a coalition.

[Popov] I think that many of them will change their decision. Bulgaria needs a multiparty government and it must have it. Now we need political bridges between the parties rather than dividing lines. Once and for all people should stop speaking about whose time it is. ["The time is ours" was the main slogan of the SDS in the election campaign] The time belongs to Bulgaria and we all must contribute our knowledge and forces to this idea. It must be clearly understood that a party—or a coalition of parties—is established to participate in the government of the country, rather than remain aside and criticize all the time. If, at the beginning of the democratic processes in our country, the opposition forces were justified to a certain degree to refuse to form a coalition with the old government, regardless of its commitment to democracy, now, when a legally elected parliamentary body exists, nobody must remain on the sidelines. A party that does so, is not worthy of being a party.

[Danevski] Now, after the elections, do you still have doubts concerning the democratization of life in our country?

[Popov] The doubts gradually subside and I sincerely rejoice the fact that with every day that passes the BSP inspires an ever growing confidence. There was much tolerance and nobleness in the behavior of many of its leaders, especially during the election campaign. They demonstrated that they are mature men who have truly embraced democracy as an idea. If this is the real character of the BSP, then Bulgaria will have a strong and democratic socialist party. I very much want to believe that this will be so!

ASO Conference Reportedly Suffered Difficulties

AU2306171090 Sofia BTA in English 1640 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jun (BTA)—The third national conference of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO), a faction in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], was on the brink of failing. After mutual accusations, after the allegations that ASO's participation in the elections with an individual list was a mistake, after the information that many people are leaving the ASO, a resolution was still adopted and a new conference was appointed for the end of next month.

The resolution does not introduce new points in ASO's strategy, the major aim remains to be "the prompt and radical reforming of the BSP in the direction of a modern socialist party of an European type with clearly expressed social-democratic character, an important element for the future left democratic centre in Bulgaria." BSP leader Aleksandur Lilov recently spoke about a modern socialist party of an European type. The faction insists on the early convening of the Socialist Party congress and the division of "conservatives" and "reformers" at this congress.

There were fewer people at today's conference than at the former ones. The atmosphere was much more tense. Many people prompted that the ASO has exhausted itself, even that a faction is possible. The conference adopted the resolution after a few exclamations that "the nomenklatura will enjoy the failure." There is no question about the faction leaving the BSP, said participants in the conference and leaders of the faction, though others doubted the efficiency of the reformers' currents.

According to one of the ASO leaders, Prof. Ivan Nikolov, the ASP virus (the Alternative Socialist Party split from the ASO) continues to exist, though this is "an artificial issue." He believes that there are at least two parties in

the BSP now: the socialist and the communist. The inter-party discussion should differentiate them.

An ASP representative who observed the conference showed surprise at it. According to him ASO was planned to demonstrate liberalism in the Socialist Party, while the conference was "double-manipulated." He found the statements as rather "hard-line," even centrist. The BSP consolidated after the elections and those disappointed with the "orthodox" wing are even leaving ASO.

The statement by BSP leadership member Chavdar Kyuranov was approved in spite of individual disagreements. He also criticized ASO for participating with an individual list in the elections. According to Prof. Kyuranov, the BSP was backed in the elections by the "middle class," and this support is going to hamper changes in the party. His opinion is that the issue about a left centre in political life is prematurely being raised. He spoke about the danger of increasing the nationalistic moods in the country. He did not deny that the founding of the Fatherland Party of Labour (accepted as opposed to the Movement for Rights and Freedoms) was backed by the BSP, not by the central leadership, however, but by the local leaders.

New Macedonian Unity Party in Skopje Discussed

AU2506091990 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 21 Jun 90 p 3

[Mikhail Neykov article: "Sensitive Spot"]

[Text] The reports on the formation in Skopje of a Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (DPMNE) did not pass unnoticed. The name of this association, which is headed by Lyubcho Georgiev and has about 130 supporters in the largest town in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, indicates its ambitions to achieve the political, economic, and intellectual cohesion of the population in an extensive geographical region, part of which lies within the territory of Yugoslavia; of the remainder, the largest portion is situated in Greece, with a considerably smaller area in Bulgaria. Because of this, the attention of observers in both Athens and Sofia is attracted by the highly frivolous claims of the newly proclaimed political leader to be a successor to the ideas and cause of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), which was well known and popular in the first decades of this century, chiefly for its program for the complete political, economic, and intellectual unification of the "divided Macedonian people."

The relevant authorities in Skopje are responsible for granting permission for the legalization of this association. The desire expressed by Georgiev to establish a federal status for Yugoslavia, which would provide a guarantee for the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Macedonia, is their problem. It is also their business to handle the demands for the formation of an independent republican army, for following an independent foreign policy, and for "Macedonian" diplomatic representations to be opened abroad, especially in countries which "are of interest to the Macedonian state." The issue of how foreign passports will be provided for travelers is also within the competence of the authorities in Skopje.

However, perplexity is aroused by those claims made by the DPMNE which directly affect the interests of other states. One cannot dismiss with indifference or condescension the claims concerning the existence of a Macedonian people of some kind, whose territory was divided in 1913 and 1918 between Yugoslavia, Greece, and Bulgaria. How is one to assess the demands (and intentions) to issue "Macedonian" passports to "at least one million people" who might emigrate from Greece and Bulgaria as anything other than a blatant lie? Where are these million people living, on what are they subsisting, and, most important, how is their existence legitimized? There are sufficient grounds for asking such questions, especially in view of the statistical data on the population of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, including its largest town (about 450,000 to 500,000 people).

We will try to believe that the authorities regarded lightly the establishment of the DPMNE in Skopje and Belgrade, because of the evident lack of seriousness and a scientific basis in most of the association's demands. Permission may have been granted as an expression of democracy. Even if this is so, the competent authorities in neighboring Yugoslavia should have foreseen the well-founded and sharp reactions of the public in Greece and Bulgaria. The events following the end of World War II have shown that the chief, and perhaps the only barrier to turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and calm is the attempt to create some sort of Macedonian nation. This is a sensitive spot which must not be touched by incompetent persons.

Macedonian Leader Mikhaylov Interviewed on TV

AU2406190790 Sofia BTA in English 1633 GMT 24 Jun 90

["There Are Bulgarians at Every Turn in Macedonia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jun (BTA)—Tonight the Bulgarian TV emitted an hour-long interview with Vanche Mikhaylov, leader of the Country Macedonian Revolutionary Organization [CMRO] after the murder in 1924 of Todor Aleksandrov.

This is the first TV interview with Mikhaylov who has gone underground in 1934. Historians say that he turned the CMRO into "a state into the state" in "powerful terrorist organization", in "rival of armies and governments."

Mikhaylov has been living in Rome since 1959, where the interview was taken. Though 94-years old he has a good memory and told curious stories and facts from the Bulgarian history.

"Macedonian separatism, which is now on the revival is the work of Belgrade," Mikhaylov said. "Everybody who talks about Macedonia has passed Belgrade and the Belgrade University."

He believes that another five or six years should pass before it becomes clear whether "they will get sober in Belgrade."

Mikhaylov rejected firmly the Ilinden Organization allegations that Macedonians and not Bulgarians are living in Pirin Macedonia. "This is a falsification," he said. "There are Bulgarians at every turn in Macedonia," was his firm opinion.

Burgas Nationalists Protest Against MRF

AU2506192590 Sofia BTA in English
1739 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Jun (BTA)—The Committee for Protection of National Interests and the Fatherland Party of Labor in the City of Burgas (at the Black Sea coast) circulated a declaration, which expresses concern over the registration of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) with a statute of a political party.

It is in fact for the first time that a party on a religious base appears in Bulgaria. This stimulates artificially the creation of a Turkish minority in the country, the authors of the declaration think. They believe that the MRF registering is in contradiction with the Constitution and the Law About the Political Parties. We cannot understand the silence of the presidency, the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the National Service for Protection of the Constitution, the declaration says.

It demands the cancelling of the MRF registering as a party and the annulment of the votes won by it.

In relation with that signature collection was organized in front of the Burgas Municipal Council and more than 500 signatures were collected in two hours. Similar declarations and events were organized in other citied of the country, too.

'New Social Democratic Party' Joins BSDP

AU2506201190 Sofia BTA in English
1931 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Jun (BTA)—The New Social Democratic Party (New SDP) has called on its branches to join the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP). Both parties are affiliated to the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

Before disbanding itself, the New SDP leadership assessed the post-election political situation as particularly complicated and unstable. According to the leadership, this situation requires an urgent consolidation of the democratic opposition forces outside the SDS, too, especially those with close ideological orientation. Referring to the principled position of the New SDP for unity of social democracy in Bulgaria, the leadership calls on the party's autonomous local branches to adopt decisions on an organizational merger with the respective BSDP branches. In order to facilitate the unification, the National Coordinating Council of the New SDP declares its self-disbandment.

CSCE Delegate Responds to Yugoslav Accusations

AU2206205790 Sofia BTA in English
1924 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, 22 Jun (BTA)—At a plenary session of the CSCE Human Rights Conference the leader of the Bulgarian delegation familiarized the participants with the results of the elections held in Bulgaria. He announced that according to the shared opinion of the international observers the elections passed in a calm and normal atmosphere and that they were free and democratic.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation, Ambassador Garvalov, went on by saying that the Bulgarian people are justified to expect the participants in the European process to recognize their right to make their own choice and to give moral and material support to their decision.

In connection with the unfounded sharp anti-Bulgarian attacks on the part of a representative of Yugoslavia who said that the rights of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria were violated, Bulgaria's representative pointed out that Yugoslavia has not the slightest right to take up such an approach, having in mind the well-known fact that she did not fulfill her internationally assumed obligations in the field of human rights, including the provisions contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the pacts on human rights.

It is not Yugoslavia, but Bulgaria that is within her rights to ask questions, Ambassador Garvalov pointed out. He stated that there really is a "Macedonian problem" which can be reduced to the following question: "What happened to the Bulgarians in Macedonia?" He asked the representative of Yugoslavia to tell him what happened to the 1,200,000 Bulgarians in SR [the Socialist Republic of] Macedonia, why the Bulgarian language was banned, why those who profess their Bulgarian identity are persecuted and their rights and basic freedoms are grossly violated.

Bulgaria has irrefutable evidence that in the last 45 years the Bulgarian population in SR Macedonia has been systematically assimilated and persecuted, Mr. Garvalov pointed out. Their Bulgarian national identity has been systematically crushed and the Bulgarian language was banned, the Bulgarian representative said in conclusion.

Western Firms Set To Prospect for Oil, Gas

AU2406153890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
20 Jun 90 p 1

[Rumyana Simeonova report: "14 Companies Will Look for Oil in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Eight Western companies have already announced their participation in oil and gas prospecting and production on Bulgarian territory and the Black Sea shelf, while a further six have posted written notification that they will join the competition, it was stated by

Simeon Simov, first deputy chairman of the Geology Committee, at a news conference held on 20 June in the committee's offices.

Commercial secrecy does not permit us to announce the names of the companies, but according to Simeon Simov, the companies are sufficiently stable to guarantee investment in Bulgaria. In July talks will begin with each of the participants and they will sign contracts before the end of September.

Six months ago, an auction was announced in two centers of the world oil industry: London and Houston, Texas. Interest was shown by 17 companies, of which 11 are from the United States and six from Europe. They purchased an information package which provided a general idea about the potential for oil and gas in Bulgaria and included a map of the areas offered—10 blocks on land and 6 offshore blocks, each with an area of 3,000 square kilometers.

The companies will carry out prospecting for seven years at their own expense and risk. If a field is discovered, depending on its size they will pay Bulgaria an amount of from $2 to $5 million, as well as a rental charge for the right to use the oil produced. They will form a joint company with a Bulgarian firm on a 50/50 share participation basis.

The ecological problem is a major worry. Will the prospecting work and oil production on offshore platforms further pollute the already "black" Black Sea? According to Georgi Dimov, deputy chairman of the Geology Committee, the likelihood of an accident on a platform is much less than that of an oil spill from a tanker.

Minister Bashikarov on Cuban Agreements

AU2506210390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] A Bulgarian economic delegation returned from Havana, Cuba. The delegation was headed by Petur Bashikarov, minister of foreign economic relations.

Shortly after his arrival at Sofia Airport Minister Bashikarov made a short statement for the Horizont Program:

[Begin Bashikarov recording] The results of our economic delegation's visit to Cuba can be positively evaluated. We reviewed the state of our bilateral relations and agreed on measures for normalizing our exchange of goods and the deliveries which were interrupted over the last months.

We signed a protocol, we coordinated our lists of items. The most important result is perhaps the agreement on sugar deliveries which amount to 110,000 tons and are expected to be supplied within the 1990 period. We are also expected to be supplied with molasses, citrus fruit, fruit juices, frozen fruit juices, and other important goods needed by our domestic market and our industry. [end recording]

Education Agreement Signed in Beijing

AU2306190090 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Beijing, 23 Jun (BTA corr.)—A Bulgaro-Chinese agreement was signed here today, according to which the two countries mutually acknowledge diplomas, scientific degrees and certificates, issued to citizens of Bulgaria and China. The Bulgarian representatives visited Chinese higher educational establishments and discussed chances to deepen bilateral cooperation in the sphere of higher education, which will be done in the conditions of increasing autonomy of higher educational establishments in Bulgaria and in China.

Italian Minister Supports Coalition Government

AU2506114490 Sofia BTA in English 1046 GMT 25 Jun 90

["De Michelis On Bulgaria's Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Rome, 25 Jun (BTA correspondent)—In its cooperation with the European Community the future Bulgarian Government can rely on Italy's full support, Mr. Gianni De Michelis, minister of foreign affairs, told the BTA correspondent after a meeting of journalists held here in connection with Italy's forthcoming taking up of the EC chairmanship.

Mr. De Michelis pointed out that if it is to fully avail itself of the solidarity and the assistance of the EC, the new Government of Bulgaria should be a coalition that would include representatives of as many as possible political forces. The Italian foreign minister expressed his surprise over the fact that the opposition in Bulgaria had not responded to the invitation extended by the Socialists to form a coalition cabinet.

'Informal Break' in Trade With Cuba Alleged

LD2306074690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0503 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Havana, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—Cuba has stopped its deliveries of sugar, nickel and other products to Czechoslovakia in response to the same measure applied by the Prague government a short time ago, it was informally learned here. According to Eastern European diplomatic sources in Cuba, involved is an informal break of commercial ties between the two countries.

So far, this bit of news has not been commented on in official Cuban circles, and the local press has not registered the stoppage of deliveries of Czechoslovak-made industrial and food-processed and other goods to Cuba.

Earlier this month, the two countries officials came to terms on continuing trade, scientific and technological cooperation in spite of an undefined way of payment.

Czechoslovakia has discontinued its further deliveries of goods to Cuba until its Caribbean partner repays some 350 million rubles in debts.

Since replacements in Czechoslovakia's top circles, relations between Havana and Prague go on by inertia of the times past, but prospects are small for the two countries to find to find out political and economic motives for their so-far cooperation to continue. Just now, Czechoslovakia has no ambassador in Havana, the so-far mission chief, Stanislav Svoboda, having been recently called back on his ending his regular term of office.

Wagner Holds Trade Talks With PRC

LD2106081590 Prague CTK in English 0652 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Beijing June 21 (CTK correspondent)—The talks conducted here June 20-21 by Czechoslovak economic presidential adviser Richar Wagner proved the two countries' interest in further development of economic relations.

Mr Wagner's working visit to China unofficially preceded an important Czechoslovak-Chinese session on a new trade agreement due to start in Prague June 26. His talks proved that Czechoslovakia and China consider each other solid partners who want to make a full use of both traditional ties and possibilities offered by the policy of openness to the world and development of reforms.

Richard Wagner, accompanied by Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Zdenek Cerveny, met with Chinese Ministers of Energy Resources Huang Yicheng, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee Gui Siyong and Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Tian Zengpei.

China is the ninth biggest trade partner of Czechoslovakia and their mutual turnover amounts to approximately 1,000 million Swiss francs annually. For instance, almost 40 per cent of textile goods sold in Czechoslovakia is of Chinese production.

Soviet Deputies Arrive To Oversee Troop Pullout

LD2506192190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] A group of Soviet people's deputies dealing with the departure of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and Hungary arrived in Prague today. Our editor Vladimir Vercak attended their short meeting with a group of journalists:

[Vercak] The group of people's deputies and experts is headed by Valeriy Nikolayevich Ochirov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Committee for Defense and State Security Issues. The deputies are specialists in various walks of military and political life, or else they deal with humanitarian issues, and the economic and environmental problems of the departure of Soviet troops from the countries of Central Europe.

That is why the statements by Valeriy Ochirov, [Soviet] Ambassador Boris Pankin, and Colonel-General Eduard Vorbyev, commander in chief of the Cental Group of (Soviet) Forces, all stressed the same thing: All the issues need to be handled in a very sensitive way, so that the departure does not become another threat to the results of the restructuring in the thinking of the people in the Soviet Union and to the relations between our two countries. It was stated more than once today that the present troops and officers are not the same people that came in 1968, so they are guilty of nothing.

In their speeches the people's deputies emphasized the moral and social impact of the withdrawal, and were critical of the rate at which it was being carried out and the associated lack of readiness on the Soviet Union's part.

Colonel-General Vorobyev said he could not go along with what the Czechoslovak press was writing about the environmental consequences of the presence of the Soviet troops. Together with the Czechoslovak experts, we must evaluate both the extent and value of the damage, without emotions and on the basis of real evidence, and not speculation, [he said].

From what the people's deputies said, it is clear that they had not yet seen for themselves the areas which are the subject of Czechoslovak criticism. They will no doubt be enlightened further at a meeting early this evening with the Federal Assembly commission supervising the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory.

CSFR Expresses Concern Over Situation in Romania

AU2506113690 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 15 Jun 90 p 4

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Z. Matejka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, received in Prague Ion Ciubotaru, ambassador of Romania to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, who briefed him on the events in Bucharest. The ambassador was informed of the concerns on the Czechoslovak side regarding the developments in Romania and, at the same time, of the sympathy felt in Czechoslovakia for the lives lost.

New Crossings to FRG To Be Opened 1 Jul

AU2506141090 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Border Crossings to the FRG"]

[Text] The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the FRG have decided to open the following crossing points at their common border on 1 July: As-Selb, Svaty Kriz-Waldsassen, Broumov-Maehring, Tachov- Baernau, Vseruby-Eschlkam, and Stozec-Heidmuehle. The Liskova- Waldmuenchen border crossing will be opened on 1 August. All the above border crossings will be open daily from 0900 to 2100, initially only for pedestrians, cyclists, and users of motorcycles under 50 cubic centimeters.

Tel Aviv-Prague Air Route Opening Delayed

LD2506124690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Airlines has stated that as some important operational issues have still not been settled, our authorities have decided that a permit for opening the regular Tel Aviv-Prague-Tel Aviv air route of the El-Al company which was to start yesterday will not be issued for the time being.

The Czechoslovak Airlines regrets to inform that with regard to the usual practice of reciprocity of the Israeli side, it cannot open the operation on this route on 28 June [as heard] as was originally planned.

Spanish Defense Minister Begins Visit

LD2506191590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Narcis Serra, Spanish minister of defense, arrived in Prague today for a three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia. He is the first minister of defense of a NATO state to visit our country.

Meets Vacek

LD2506195690 Prague CTK in English 1633 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 25 (CTK)—Spanish Defence Minister Narcis Serra met here today for talks with his Czechoslovak colleague Moroslav Vacek who acquainted him with topical political events in Czechoslovakia, mainly with the results of the June 8-9 free parliamentary elections.

The ministers exchanged information on the state of the two countries' armed forces, the basic military service, the system of military education and other topics, paying attention to the prospects of the two armies, mainly in connection with the transition towards the professionalization of the army.

They also discussed the questions of European security and the two countries' cooperation as well as the possibilities of mutual cooperation between the two armed forces. In this connection, Minister Vacek submitted proposals that include the exchange of chiefs of general staffs of the two armies, military experts and experts from the ranks of military education as well as from the spheres of education, culture and sports. The proposals were accepted with interest by the Spanish counterpart.

Klaus, IMF Official Discuss IMF Membership

AU2506141290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Jun 90 p 8

[CTK report from the "Chronicle" column]

[Text] Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus received Jacques de Groote, executive director of the IMF, to discuss with him questions connected with the resumption of the membership of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in the IMF and the World Bank.

Havel, Dienstbier Receive Belgian Crown Prince

LD2106141290 Prague CTK in English 1340 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received here today visiting Belgian Crown Prince Philippe for a tete-a-tete discussion.

Prince Philippe highly appeciated Vaclav Havel's long struggle for human rights

Prince Philippe was also received by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier to exchange opinions on the future set-up in Europe.

Minister Dienstbier briefed the guest on the main principles of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy.

CPCZ Central Committee Meets 23 Jun

LD2106153590 Prague CTK in English 1454 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 21 (CTK)—The 5th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee will take place in Prague on Saturday, June 23.

A briefing on the course of the session will be called by the communist party press centre in the party central

committee's headquarters on Ludvik Svoboda Embankment 12, Praha 1, on the same day at 14.00 GMT.

Supports Governments, Havel Candidacy

LD2306121290 Prague CTK in English 1133 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 23 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party will fully support the new federal and both national governments and the candidature of Vaclav Havel for the function of the country's president, first secretary of the Communist Party Vasil Mohorita said at the fifth session of its Central Committee here today.

The session dealt with the results of the elections to the legislative bodies and the further tasks of the Communist Party.

"We shall never and nowhere form an opposition", Vasil Mohorita stressed, adding that the 101 elected communist deputies will create a team in the parliamentary bodies which will push through the justified interests of their voters.

Vasil Mohorita underlined the necessity to change the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia into a modern left wing party which will share in the development society. Those people who would impede this process pose a danger not only for the party but for the whole left as well, he said.

Decides Congress Date, New Abbreviation

LD2406105190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] The fifth session Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee has decided to hold its 18th congress on 27 October of this year. Josef Hora, party press spokesman, briefed journalists about the decision. At the same time he said that as of today, in harmony with the new name of the republic, a new abbreviation is to be used for the Communist Party: KSCS.

SVOBODNE SLOVO Controversy Shakes CSS

Newspaper Strikes

AU2306203390

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech, the daily of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, CSS, appears on 20 June with the word "Stavka" [Strike] inscribed in big letters across an otherwise blank front page. In the same issue, on the inside pages, SVOBODNE SLOVO publishes a number of items which explain this action and deal with the crisis which has erupted in the CSS following its election defeat and the dismissal of Lubomir Petrik, chief editor of SVOBODNE SLOVO, and Milan Nevole, director of the party's own Melantrich Publishing House.

On page 3, SVOBODNE SLOVO carries a 500-word editorial commentary entitled "It Is Not a Question of Keys but a Question of Principle!" The commentary returns to the incident in the Melantrich Publishing House, which was visited by several members of the CSS leadership on 18 June who told the staff that Milan Nevole and Lubomir Petrik had both been dismissed from their posts and who demanded that they be given the keys of the building. The commentary explains that the SVOBODNE SLOVO and Melantrich staff have entered a "token strike" in protest against the CSS leadership's course of action and expresses the hope that readers will have understanding for the "unusual method [of protest] for which we have opted," namely, leaving the front page blank. The commentary states that this form of protest was "inevitable" because the defense of freedom of the press against "the aggressive pursuit of narrow, particular party interests" is at stake. It deplores the fact that even now, after 17 November 1989, "we wage an absurd struggle for the right to work, for the right to carry out our profession according to our best conscience, with full responsibility towards the reader."

On the same page, under the headline "Protests, Disagreements," SVOBODNE SLOVO publishes letters, totalling 300 words, which the editorial office received from Jan Skoda, Jaroslav Safarik, and Vladimir Kovalcik, CSS deputy chairmen, the preceding day. Skoda acknowledges in his letter that the decision of the CSS Presidium to recall the director and the chief editor was "wrong," even though he himself had voted for it. He adds that "I have drawn from this the sole possible conclusion: I am resigning from the posts of deputy party chairman and member of the Central Committee Presidium with immediate effect." Safarik also announces his resignation from the post of deputy party chairman "out of profound disagreement with the undemocratic practices applied against Melantrich and SVOBODNE SLOVO and with other dishonest practices." Kovalcik, finally, says that he "arrived at the conclusion that my remaining in the Central Committee Presidium and in the post of CSS deputy chairman would only give support to the unacceptable practices of the party leadership, which is why I am giving up my posts effective today."

On the same page, SVOBODNE SLOVO carries a 350-word "sv"-signed commentary entitled "Let Us Open the Windows." The commentary, which examines the causes of the internal CSS crisis, accuses unnamed "people in central party bodies" of "not shying away from applying police methods in their own party" and of being responsible for the election defeat of "a party which only a few months ago had many prerequisites to be at the forefront of democratic life in Czechoslovakia." The commentary calls for a frank exchange of views in the CSS, without fear that sincerely meant criticism will be branded as "violation of party discipline" and a "hostile act." Differences of opinion and "factional inclinations" should not be suppressed for the sake of party unity because a party which suppresses internal problems at any price is not credible.

Also on page 3, SVOBODNE SLOVO carries a 150-word statement by the Syndicate of Journalists in the Czech Republic condemning, without any direct reference to the situation in SVOBODNE SLOVO, the attempts of "some political parties" to limit press freedom; a 220-word report on an "aktiv" of Prague CSS members, which called for the resignation of CSS Chairman Jiri Vyvadil; and a 1,100-word CTK interview with Stanislav Kliment, CSS central secretary, and Milan Nevole, director of Melantrich, in which they explain their positions on the conflict between the party leadership and its publishing house. In the interview, Nevole explains the origin of the conflict. He says: "After the elections a number of party members—including members of the M. Horakova Club and national socialists [members of the National Socialist Party, the CSS's pre-1948 predecessor]—called on the CSS Central Committee Presidium to resign. The Presidium refused to step down, however. The M. Horakova Club therefore started to entertain the idea of setting up a National Social Party [Narodne socialni strana] because of the impossibility of cooperating with the present party leadership. I, too, was asked by the M. Horakova Club whether our publishing house would be favorably inclined toward this new party. My reply was that the whole matter would have to be discussed with the staff. This meeting was taped by means of a recorder placed under the door. At the beginning of last week, after a session of the CSS Central Committee Presidium, I was then told that I had been dismissed from the post of Melantrich director because I wanted to transfer it to another party. This is not true, however. What is true is that a letter by the four chief editors of our publishing house ensued, calling for the resignation of CSS Chairman Jiri Vyvadil." In the interview Nevole also mentions that, in addition to the three deputy party chairmen, also three other members of the CSS Presidium—M. Vaculik, S. Krecek, and J. Titzlova—have resigned in protest against party chairman Vyvadil.

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 20 June, on page 3, carries a 700-word L. Nadvornik report entitled "Melantrich Is Seething Again." The article, which contains interviews with SVOBODNE SLOVO and MELANTRICH employees on the internal CSS conflict, quotes Milan Nevole as saying that, in addition to the six members of the CSS leadership mentioned by SVOBODNE SLOVO, J. Lesak, first CSS deputy chairman, has also submitted his resignation.

CSS Concessions Seen Insufficient

AU2506131890 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 22 Jun 90 p 1

["Statement" issued by the SVOBODNE SLOVO editorial staff]

[Text] After two days when SVOBODNE SLOVO appeared in a nontraditional form, readers as well as colleagues from other information media are turning to us with expressions of unconditional support for our endeavors to gain the newspaper's independence as well as with questions about the further development of the dispute between the publisher (the Czechoslovak Socialist Party) and the Melantrich Publishing House. At its extraordinary session on Wednesday [20 June], the party's Central Committee revoked the decision to dismiss the director of the enterprise and the chief editor of SVOBODNE SLOVO. We quote from the resolution: "In view of the statements by brother M. Nevole and brother L. Petrik that they would abide by the basic Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] documents, the CSS Central Committee revokes the decision of the CSS Central Committee Presidium to recall them from their posts...." Most of the staff journalists of SVOBODNE SLOVO are convinced, however, that their demands—i.e. independence for the daily, freedom of speech and information—has far from been met. They consider the establishment of a joint-stock company which would exclude any party influence on the content and management of the daily as the only solution. It is evident from the response [to our strike], which is multiplying day by day, that we are not alone in facing this problem. It is also for this reason that we consider it our duty to bring the whole affair to an unequivocal end and to stay on strike alert until then.

Conditions for End to Strike Outlined

AU2306203690

[Editorial Report] The 21 June issue of Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech, the daily of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, CSS, appears with the upper portion of its front page blank and the word "Strike" emblazoned across it. On the same page, SVOBODNE SLOVO publishes a 500-word editorial commentary entitled "What We Are Up To." The commentary states that the "strike alert" in SVOBODNE SLOVO will remain in force "until the relationship between the publisher and the enterprise is legally codified in the form of a joint stock company, in which the partnership between the two would be confined strictly and exclusively to economic indicators." This is the only guarantee, the commentary states, that SVOBODNE SLOVO journalists will enjoy freedom of the press and that readers "can be sure that the views which we put across are our own views, for which we bear full responsibility." The commentary also demands that the CSS leadership retract its decision to dismiss the SVOBODNE SLOVO chief editor and the MELANTRICH director and that it "provide a guarantee that similar interference in the contents of the daily and in the management of the enterprise will not be repeated." This would be the "first step toward normalization" between the party and Melantrich, its publishing house, the commentary states.

On the same day, on page 1, SVOBODNE SLOVO also carries a 30-word report on the opening of a "closed meeting" of the CSS Central Committee, which

"acknowledged the resignation of the CSS Central Committee Presidium." At the time of the paper's going to press, the election of the new leadership was reportedly still in progress.

Also on 21 June, on page 4, SVOBODNE SLOVO publishes a 300-word interview with Milan Nevole, the "recalled" director of the Melantrich Publishing House. In the interview, Nevole reaffirms the strikers' demand, voiced in the editorial commentary, that Melantrich be transformed into a joint stock company, most shares in which would be owned by Melantrich employees. He says that "a certain stake of the CSS in the company is being considered" but adds that the relations between the party and the publishing house should be "purely commercial" and that the party should have no influence on the content of Melantrich publications and on the filling of top positions.

Krajina Criticizes CSS Leadership

AU2306201990 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 19 Jun 90 p 1

["Rs"-signed report: "V. Krajina's Letter"]

[Text] Professor Dr. Vladimir Krajina, honorary chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, has faxed a letter to the chief editor of the Melantrich Publishing House. The text of the letter, which is dated 15 June, reads:

"In view of the negative result of the elections and the crisis in the party, I advocate, in the interest of the preservation of party unity, an early convening of a party congress. I support the statement by editors of the Melantrich Publishing House as well as the letters by national socialists and members of the Milada Horakova Club which SVOBODNE SLOVO published in the last couple of days."

Socialist Party Chairman Resigns

LD2506221190 Prague CTK in English 2034 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 25 (CTK)—Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Jiri Vyvadil handed in his resignation at a meeting of the party presidium here today. The presidium accepted his resignation and charged Milan Adam with the post of acting deputy chairman.

Jiri Vyvadil said he resigned after considering the present situation in the party, mainly with respect to the previous session on June 20 when, in his view, the affair concerning the Melantrich Publishing House failed to be solved.

The presidium today discussed the preparations for the party central committee extraordinary session due to take place on July 3, where it will submit a proposal to convene an extraordinary party congress for the end of September.

The presidium will recommend to the central committee to declare, in harmony with the conclusions of the 24th Party Congress in March, a referendum of all members on the name of the party. Recommended are these possibilities: the present name (the Czechoslovak Socialist Party), the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak National Social Party and others.

Petrik, Vyvadil Interviewed

AU2506133490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jun 90 p 2

[Kamila Jaskova report: "Dismissals Revoked"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—At its session on Wednesday [20 June], the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] revoked the decision of the party Presidium to immediately dismiss L. Petrik, SVOBODNE SLOVO editor-in-chief, and M. Nevole, director of the MELANTRICH publishing house, from their posts. As is known, the editorial staff of SVOBODNE SLOVO had gone on strike alert in protest against this decision.

RUDE PRAVO's correspondent visited the SVOBODNE SLOVO editorial office Thursday [21 June] morning and asked chief editor L. Petrik to comment on the situation that has come about. He said: "I took part in the CSS Central Committee session. Its course was not easy because it dealt with too many questions, all of which were mutually interwoven. The session arrived at a certain solution which could, in my opinion, serve as a starting point for a solution to the crisis in the party—the exacerbated situation cannot be called anything else—and in relation to the daily SVOBODNE SLOVO and its editorial staff. I would like to believe that the adopted resolution, which accommodates the demands of the publishing house and the editorial office in that the Central Committee revoked the Presidium's decision to recall the director of MELANTRICH and the chief editor of SVOBODNE SLOVO; the expression of the good will to meet the demand for the establishment of a joint-stock company; and, above all, the endeavor to conduct negotiations with representatives of the editorial office and the publishing house could be a prerequisite for a solution to the problem that will be acceptable to both sides."

What else did the CSS Central Committee session discuss? This was the RUDE PRAVO correspondent's question for party chairman Jiri Vyvadil. He said that the most important item on the agenda was the election of a new CSS Central Committee Presidium. He designated this election as supremely democratic because the list of candidates included all members of the Central Committee except for those who had given up their candidacy in advance or who were absent. In the first round seven candidates received more than 50 percent of the votes; he himself was ranked fourth among them. The remaining Presidium members were elected in the second round. The party chairman—Jiri Vyvadil—

retained his post also in view of the fact that, under the party statutes, the change in the post of party chairman is the exclusive right of the party congress.

"In connection with the new tasks, it was necessary to delineate responsibilities anew. The posts of three executive deputy chairmen were established—one for the land of Bohemia, one for the land of Moravia and Silesia, and one for Slovakia," Jiri Vyvadil said.

Asked about the situation concerning SVOBODNE SLOVO and Melantrich, the CSS chairman said that he has his own personal opinion on this matter, which is why one of the newly elected deputy chairmen ought to be entrusted with resolving the whole issue. "It is beyond doubt that all possibilities must be explored for setting up a joint-stock company," J. Vyvadil added.

Energy Minister Gives Up CPCZ Membership

AU2206173190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "Briefly" column]

[Text] Just before the elections, Jaroslav Suva, minister of fuels and energy, gave up his membership in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This means that, at present, of the 23 members of the Government of National Consensus only two, F. Podlena and A. Barcak, are in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. At the time of their appointment 10 out of 20 were members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Czech, Slovak Peace Groups Set Up Federal Umbrella

AU2306185890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jun 90 p 8

[Martin Krno report: "Platform for a Businesslike Dialogue"]

[Excerpt] Prague— Saturday's [16 June] session of the Czechoslovak Peace Union [Cesko-slovenska Mierova Unia] adopted the organizational rules and rules of procedure of this most important movement of peace defenders in our country. It approved Jozef Drozd and Roman Raczynski in the post of co-chairmen.

The Czechoslovak Peace Union wants to serve as an open, independent, and democratic platform for a businesslike dialogue, cooperation, and solidarity of the republican peace unions. Its mission is to contribute to mutual understanding abroad and at home, disarmament, demilitarization of life, humanization of interpersonal relations, defense of human rights, and protection of the environment. The Czechoslovak Peace Union is made up of delegates of the Peace Union of Bohemia and Moravia, the Slovak Union for Peace and Human Rights, other independent initiatives, regional and professional peace groups, outstanding individuals, as well as representatives of political parties, social organizations, and churches. [passage omitted]

Prague TV Transmitter Characteristics Described

LD2106164390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Members of an independent committee for assessing the television transmitter in Prague met with journalists in our capital. They said that the electromagnetic field of Zizkov transmitter will be at the very bottom of the limit of the very strict Czechoslovak norm. Specifically it will be three to five kilowatts for the first, second and other channels, and on average this output is 10-50 times lower than that of television transmitters in other large cities in the world.

The independent commission also recommended that the intensity of the field and its further parameters be continuously monitored during broadcast and recommended that a television cable distribution system be developed.

Radio Officials Visit Army, Meet Defense Minister

LD2106224190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Leading employees of Czechoslovak Radio today visited one of the detachments of the Czechoslovak Army.

Dr. Frantisek Pavlicek, director-general of Czechoslovak Radio, and Dr. Valdimir Stefko today visited soldiers of the 10th Motorcycle Detachment at Janovice and Uhlavou. The aim and meaning of this visit was to establish actual cooperation between Czechoslovak Radio and the command of the Czechoslovak Army. following the inspection of the detachment, its educational and training basis, as well as inspection of the living areas, the guests visited military training areas, where they were given the opportunity to view not only the area, but also the Sumava mountain range. In the afternoon the central director, Dr. Frantisek Pavlicek, and other guests were received also by Army General Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense. This was where they also signed an agreement between Czechoslovak Radio and the Federal Ministry of National Defense, which constitutes the point of departure for more objective information for the broad public on the Army.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German unification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

De Maiziere Discusses Monetary Union, Berlin

AU2406190190 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0900 GMT 24 Jun

[Interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by Dietrich Moeller; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Moeller] Mr. Prime Minister, one week from today, the Deutsche mark [DM] will be introduced in the GDR. On the occasion of 17 June [anniversary of 1953 East Berlin uprising]—exactly one week ago—Consistorial President Stolpe spoke of a cultural turn, which required a lot of understanding. How can you raise and promote the necessary understanding?

[De Maiziere] First I would like to support what Manfred Stolpe said. He said: Monetary union separated us, and monetary union will unite us again. I think that one must state that the monetary reform first took place in the FRG and not on what was then the [word indistinct] zone of occupation. I remember this very well. I consider it too simple and too shortsighted to say that German unity will become effective with the introduction of the DM. I particularly reject the formula reduced to the one side bringing the DM while the other side is waiting with empty hands. I think it is an important condition for the growing together of the two states or the two parts of Germany that they have the same currency so that certain differences regarding travel possibilities, buying patterns, and so on can be reduced, and so that one can start from a greater similarity in everyday life. However, I believe that unity will be much more.

[Moeller] Unity will certainly be more, yet this is still a question of the future. Let us look back for a moment, and once more discuss the term, cultural turn. Actually, there was another cultural turn last October, November, and December. Thinking of your government apparatus alone, one must say that, fundamentally, you took over an old apparatus. So the question arises about the loyalty of this apparatus during the transition period.

[De Maiziere] It is good that you should ask this question. In my office, I have experienced a great degree of loyalty, hard work, and commitment—if necessary, people stay until three in the morning. It was like this from my very first day. I held a staff meeting in which I told the people that I would take a risk and put my trust in them, but that I also expected their trust. I also said that those who thought that they could not at all support my political course, were free to go and that we would even try to find a social solution for those. Not a single person left, they all showed their trust, and now we have established this trust. This is what one must recognize. Those people are well-trained, and during many years, they were not permitted to do what they wanted. Here in the house, in the Council of Ministers, they were maybe allowed to insert a comma into a text which the Politburo omitted. Finally these people have the feeling that we need their competence, and nothing would be worse than to have all those people in a country without a future.

[Moeller] This takes me to the question of fear—also in connection with what Mr. Stolpe said, when he mentioned the existing political fears; fears that were bound to exist in view of the great turn that would be made in a week's time. Do you share this opinion, and, how can you and your government meet these fears and apprehensions?

[De Maiziere] Well, first of all, I read an article in a major newspaper according to which the fear among the people is not as big as the media says. Of course, it is true that a certain fear exists. Yet this is not so much related to the monetary question, but to another phenomenon. In the past, the future has always been a time that was already filled in. The wise party and the Politburo had thought ahead and said what the future would be like. Over the uniformity of the years, which, so to speak, ran past us, this was more and more believed. Now the people realize that freedom also means times of insecurity. The future is no longer a time that is already filled in, but a time that we must fill in ourselves between the two poles of freedom and responsibility. This is something our people have never learned. They did not only not learn it, but they were even deliberately forced to forget this concept. We are experiencing this now in various spheres where people very freely approach and tackle certain things, and show a spirit of explorers. Yet as soon as they meet with difficulties, they call for the central power. Then they would like the "leadership" to come in and decide. I think that this learning process, which our people are currently undergoing, is very important, and I think it is good that they can do so here and now, and not in a place where all people acquire these abilities at school.

[Moeller] I would like to ask what is more important for the continued existence of your coalition government—the opportunities or the problems caused by the great economic and social changes. Your economics minister also mentions difficulties; he mentioned the term, half-hearted, in this connection.

[De Maiziere] A prime minister does not have to like everything his ministers say to the press. I think that the coalition clearly starts from the premise that German unity is our joint objective, and that the state treaty is one step on the road to unity. In the cabinet, the ministers of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] have supported the state treaty. The cabinet made a unanimous decision in this connection, which is today no longer all that common. It used to be absolutely normal in the old days, whereas today, people often hold differing views. Yet there was general agreement in this question, and even the parliamentary group of the SPD supported this decision. I

think that the rejection of the state treaty is a greater problem for the FRG SPD, whose stance has been determined by the fact that it is in opposition. However, there is no need to worry about all those questions that are problems for the politicians in Bonn.

[Moeller] So you believe that for the coalition, the opportunities outweigh the problems by far?

[De Maiziere] Even in the course of the difficult coalition talks, it has been clear from the very beginning that the difficulty of the tasks that we were facing made cooperation necessary. Moreover, I also believe that here we still have a different relationship between the different politicians. There are people in the SPD with whom I used to share the synodal bench and also many ideas. I believe that on this basis we are more able to differentiate between personal and factual questions than people elsewhere.

[Moeller] I would like to quote Mr. Stolpe once again. On 17 June he said: The West does not only come to the GDR, but the GDR also comes to the West. In your personal experience, and under your responsibility, what contribution can the GDR people make? What are the contributions by the GDR citizens that one should point out to the FRG citizens?

[De Maiziere] Well, I know that following my government's declaration, people in the FRG particularly discussed my statement that division is overcome by sharing. I think that our citizens are much better prepared to share things in everyday life than most people in the FRG. This is a kind of solidarity that developed here over the past 40 years. This is not just an air-raid shelter or bunker mentality, but it has become a real human quality. I hope that we can maintain it and maybe even take parts of it across. Of course, for every single person here, it is particularly difficult to assess his or her life over the past 40 years. Again and again we have been faced with the opposing attitudes of accommodating oneself with the situation or offering resistance. Many people must realize that certain stretches of their path, stretches which they supported, were not right. The greatest mistake would now be to regard this as the West's victory over the East, and not as the victory of freedom and intellect over a lack of freedom and ignorance; after all, the people did not voluntarily choose this system.

[Moeller] Many in the West say that this was the victory over socialism, even a triumphant victory over socialism, so to speak. I can imagine that you would put a question mark after this very generalized statement.

[De Maiziere] The great changes of the fall were certainly a victory over actually existing, Stalinist socialism. However, I think that one will have to, and that one actually will, give more thought to the intellectual quality of what has been said about that term in more than 100 years. Just as the fact that there are two major parties in the FRG is indispensable for the existence of the FRG, one of which does not only have the term social democratic but also socialist in its program, it will be equally important that here in the future as well, we will need the tension caused by two major intellectual directions of thought. I think that questions of this caliber cannot and should not be answered in these extremely fast-paced times.

[Moeller] Mr. Prime Minister, in early October the two Christian Democratic Unions will be formally united. They will draw up a joint program. With regard to this program, you mentioned certain cornerstones that were indispensable for you, and you gave the keywords—justice, peace, and the preservation of all of creation. You mentioned those keywords in the federal committee of the CDU. Could you elaborate on them?

[De Maiziere] These keywords or terms represent the whole process that took place here in the GDR, the conciliatory process, which did not only take place in the GDR, but was taken particularly seriously here, a process that dealt with the questions of justice—internal and external justice; a process that wanted to establish a clear relationship between North and South. I believe that this will be the main challenge in the next 10 year, at least until the beginning of the next millennium: the question of how to ensure lasting peace. After all, peace will last only on the basis of justice, which also includes social justice. This also raises the question of management and the tasks of the economy. In this connection, my answer is that economy is important, necessary, and efficient, yet that the economy must not be a purpose in itself but that it must serve a certain function. The economy must help to create tenable prosperity for a healthy community. I think that in the process of the growing together of the two parties, one must give this additional thought. This is something to which we attach the utmost importance, and which is also consistent with the fact that the CDU continues to call itself the Christian Democratic Union.

[Moeller] You have indicated that you want to understand social justice both in its foreign political dimension and also with its domestic policy dimension. Let us discuss the level of domestic policy. The fact that you put so much emphasis on social justice, does this mean that, in your opinion, this aspect is neglected in the Western CDU?

[De Maiziere] In statements and programs, this aspect is certainly not recognizable to the extent that I consider necessary for the future. Of course, I speak particularly from the point of view of a man who has lived his life here and who is familiar with the requirements that exist here, in the future five laender of a united Germany. In the process of the recovery of the economy, the question of social justice will certainly have to play a major role.

[Moeller] If I understood the secretary general of the FRG CDU, Mr. Ruehe, correctly, then he believes that your election success of 18 March was based on the economic-political competence and the credibility in terms of German policy of the Western CDU. Do you share this view on the basis of your experiences and observations?

[De Maiziere] This question was discussed right after 18 March and it was repeatedly asked whether it was a great

victory for the FRG CDU. The FRG CDU has lent us a great deal of assistance in the election campaign. I repeatedly said that we are most grateful for this. Yet those who voted were the people here in the GDR, and they supported those who they thought were the right people to determine the policies for them in this country. The many [words indistinct] that I receive include an increasing number of opinions that indicate that the decision was right.

[Moeller] I would like to come back to the site at which the unification [of the two parties] will take place, namely Hamburg. The Liberals and the Social Democrats, who will also unite, will do so in Berlin. As a Berliner, are you happy with the decision for Hamburg?

[De Maiziere] No, I am not, but it is certainly not a fundamental problem for me. Hamburg was chosen as the site for the federal party congress at a time when nobody was thinking of a unification party congress. Many reservations and preparations have already been made. I suppose that even in your country, one has to pay certain fees for canceling contracts, and so on. This is not a fundamental problem. What is more important to me is what will happen in the run-up to this congress, we must discuss certain structural and statutory questions, and clearly agree on how to tackle the programmatic question and how to continue the discussion about the question of the program even after the two parties are merged. One will also have to think about, for example, the organization of the party and the availability of funds in the five future laender here, and what will happen with the people that are active in our party here. It will certainly not be possible to fill all leading positions with FRG CDU officials. This is another question that belongs in the basket of social justice.

[Moeller] Mr. Prime Minister, independent of the CDU Congress in Hamburg, I would like to ask you a question in connection with Berlin: What will be the future capital of Germany?

[De Maiziere] There can be not doubt about this: Berlin must be the future capital of Germany. It must not only be the capital, but also the seat of the government, although not from the very first day, but gradually. There are several reasons for this, and they are not only local patriotic ones, which I, being a Berliner, might be forgiven. I believe that the integration of the five laender of the current GDR into a united Germany can be carried out much better from Berlin than from a city on the western edge of Germany. Moreover, we all consider the process of German unification to be a chance for the unifying of Europe. West Europe is much more advanced in this process of unity, and it can look back on many years of experience within the EC and so on. If a unification process of Europe is successful one must seek means and ways for integrating East Europe. Our relations, that have grown over the years, must be extended and strengthened, which can certainly be better accomplished from Berlin. Take the two capitals between which this has to take place, Paris and Warsaw, or Moscow, and you will see that Berlin is simply located in a much better place than Bonn.

[Moeller] Is what you say about Berlin as capital and government seat a subject of the second state treaty?

[De Maiziere] It will be a subject once we conclude this state treaty. For us, it is now an objective for these negotiations that we want to define very clearly.

[Moeller] You will insist that this is included in the state treaty?

[De Maiziere] It is our objective.

[Moeller] Meanwhile, many people have commented on the timetable of unification—very specifically, occasionally one gets the impression that this is done in a way that even prejudices this question. Is this not the right time—one week before the DM is introduced in the GDR, before the beginning of the economic and social union—to develop your own ideas about such a timetable? So far you have not commented on this.

[De Maiziere] There is a clear agreement between the coalition parties that now we tackle the problems that are connected with the monetary, economic, and social union. Later, in the coalition committee, we will discuss the further steps to German unity. We agreed on maintaining a certain level of discretion in this question. If the chairman of the coalition committee were not to feel bound by this, how could he expect it from others? Nevertheless, this is not the gist of my answer. I believe that the time of unification must be determined by factual questions and not by ideas or certain wishes as far as the time is concerned. We still must adopt a second—and I would say important—state treaty, which describes all skeleton conditions that make the accession of the GDR under Article 23 of the Basic Law possible. We still must create compatible structures, we must implement the formation of the laender, we must hold land assembly elections, and, last but not least, the two-plus-four process must be concluded in a way that its result can be supported by all parties involved. Many difficult questions still remain for which there are no ready solutions. Experience has told us that the more one presses another party for time, the more difficult it finds it to have clear thoughts.

[Moeller] Well, but have you not already been put under pressure, because Bonn has set very specific datelines?

[De Maiziere] There is a big difference between exerting pressure and permitting oneself to be put under pressure.

[Moeller] In the recent past you have repeatedly emphasized that you negotiate with Bonn on the basis of equal partners. Yet, is not the introduction of the monetary, economic, and social union tantamount to ceding a large part of your sovereignty, which puts you in a somewhat more difficult situation?

[De Maiziere] Well, one thing is clear: We want German unity. This is the decisive issue. Therefore, we do no

have any problems with ceding certain sovereign rights, as long as we want it, and as long as this happens in a correct and reasonable way. For example the state treaty outlines the framework conditions for our budget; however within this framework, we can pursue our own budget policy, we can adopt measures to adapt our structures, etc. I think that it must be made clear again and again, that accession under Article 23 is an accession, that is to say an independent, voluntary step. We are not forced to access to the FRG.

Defense Minister Eppelmann on NATO, Warsaw Pact

PM2606092490 Paris LE FIGARO in French 21 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann by P.H. Desaubliaux in Paris; date not given]

[Text] [Desaubliaux] The seven Warsaw Pact defense ministers have just agreed to a change in their alliance. How soon could this be accomplished?

[Eppelmann] There was unanimous agreement that the Warsaw Pact should be transformed as quickly as possible and that it should be changed from a primarily military to a mainly political alliance. A commission has been set up. We are awaiting the first results of its work in the fall.

[Desaubliaux] Without waiting for a parallel transformation of NATO?

[Eppelmann] We are hoping for a similar development in NATO. But we had to move quickly if we did not want the 7 June meeting of the Warsaw Pact heads of government to be the last. It is important that our new alliance should be capable of functioning before the CSCE summit scheduled for next December.

[Desaubliaux] So, in your view this CSCE meeting is important?

[Eppelmann] Absolutely. However, tangible results can only be achieved if the essential questions are in fact taken into consideration—German reunification; progress on the reduction of conventional weapons at the Vienna conference; the transformation of the Warsaw Pact; a breakthrough in the "two-plus-four" negotiations between the two Germanys and the four World War II victors. Finally, the political and economic development in the USSR is bound to have an impact.

[Desaubliaux] Does this pace suit you?

[Eppelmann] I note some discrepancy in the pace of the German unification process and the efforts to establish the structures of a European security system. Personally, the speed of the unification process does not strike me as a good thing for the Germans. I would like greater caution.

[Desaubliaux] Does this explain your disagreement with Mr. Stoltenberg, your West German counterpart, on the formation of an all-German army as soon as political union is achieved?

[Eppelmann] The difference of opinion is probably not as great as the press states. I believe in the expression "one people, one government, one state, one army" but that may be the truth at the end of a road which must be trodden.

Reassuring the Soviet Union

[Desaubliaux] How soon?

[Eppelmann] There will be a single German army the day when there is an all-European security structure. In other words, when the USSR does not think that a unified Germany's membership of an alliance is a threat to its interests.

[Desaubliaux] Could the Western forces leave Berlin before the withdrawal of the last Soviet soldier from the GDR?

[Eppelmann] The answer rests with the "two-plus-four" negotiators because it is not purely a German question. I would personally be prepared to envisage a voluntary and partial abandonment of German sovereignty over Berlin, hence the maintenance of American, Soviet, British, and French units, with reduced numbers.

[Desaubliaux] Even if Berlin becomes the capital again?

[Eppelmann] Yes. There is no incompatibility.

[Desaubliaux] Would the presence of multinational forces in East Germany contribute to security?

[Eppelmann] I am a fervent advocate of these multinational forces. I have made this proposal to my Polish and Czechoslovak counterparts, to high-ranking members of the Soviet military, and to the Austrian vice chancellor.... What I want is the creation of "interalliance" units grouping soldiers from NATO member countries, from the Warsaw Pact, and from neutral countries. For instance, we could imagine a mixed brigade comprising East German and Soviet soldiers which would have the mission of protecting the environment.

[Desaubliaux] You are minister of defense and disarmament. Are these roles compatible?

[Eppelmann] Officially, I am minister of disarmament and defense. And I attach importance to that order of words. I accept these two words without any conflict, and the similarities between them will be accentuated in the future. Our People's National Army has already had its numbers cut from 170,000 to 120,000. Our equipment budget was reduced by 46 percent between 1989 and 1990. In my present job, I derive my main motivation from the fact that I am a Christian, and from the fact that I worked for more than 25 years in the peace movement. I was and I remain a conscientious objector. I believe that it is possible to engage in politics while drawing your inspiration from the Sermon on the Mount.

Meckel Reviews London Visit, Pace of Unification

LD2206084690 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1105 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Markus Meckel by correspondent Bernd Eichmann in London on 21 June—recorded]

[Text] [Eichmann] Could you give us an overall view of your visit to London.

[Meckel] Yes, it was a rewarding day. It was important to speak in London with representatives of industry and to invite them to invest in the GDR, that is to say, in the territory of the present GDR, in the future, in the eastern lands of Germany. This a [word indistinct] of central importance. We do not want industry in this part of Germany to be a German home game. We want it to be just as internationalized as in other European countries.

[Eichmann] You had the opportunity to talk with Mr. Hurd, the British foreign secretary. You have said relatively little so far about the talk, [words indistinct]. What did you talk about?

[Meckel] It concerned the question of the two-plus-four talks, the question of German unification and the European conditions for this. We discussed the fact that we are in the process of simply having to clarify whether the future Germany will be a member of NATO, what possibilities exist for taking into account Soviet interests, and how this can take place, because we want the interests of the Soviet Union and of the other eastern countries to be taken into account. We want German unification not only to be the separation of the GDR from the community of the eastern countries of Europe, but to be a process toward the unification of Europe, which means that these countries and the Soviet Union belong to this. It must remain clear and be a part of this solution that the Soviet Union is a part of Europe and has firm links in Europe, both in security policy and economically, and that the other countries of East Europe will also be tied into a common security structure. This can only take place within the framework of the CSCE, that is to say as an all-European solution.

At the same time it must be made clear—and here I consider it to be an important point for the four victorious powers of World War II—to what ties Germany is committing itself and what role Germany will play in Europe. Thinking about this and arriving at a clarification of this issue is the task of the two-plus-four process or of the transitional period which follows.

[Eichmann] To what extent are you in harmony with Mr. Genscher, for example, on this issue?

[Meckel] I think that we have an outstanding politician with great experience in Mr. Genscher, who is also greatly respected by the other powers, who has the attributes for having everyone's interests in mind simply through his experience and through his work. I think it is one of his merits that he has expressed very clearly to the western powers that the Soviet Union must remain linked to Europe. He is an important partner for the Soviet Union for this reason.

[Eichmann] [Words indistinct] at the news conference you spoke with Mr. Hurd about a possible final document for the two-plus-four talks. Are there any developments there?

[Meckel] You know the agenda for the two-plus-four talks, i.e., between the four powers and the two German states. There we have the Polish-German border question, political and military issues, Berlin's status, and then final settlements in international law on how the rights and responsibilities of the four powers are to be abolished. These are the points. The question then arises what will be in these settlements in international law which will come at the end of two-plus-four. Not everything there has to be dealt with within the framework of these talks. For example, the German-Polish issues will be dealt with trilaterally between the two German states and Poland, and then only noted and recognized by the four powers. In any case we hope that if possible this will be a topic for Paris in mid-July.

[Eichmann] Another question on the German-Polish problem. Mr. minister, there are many in Poland who fear that Europe might end at the Oder and that the Poles will remain outsiders in this whole process of unification, that everything will go to East Germany, that everything will be done for the East Germans and that they will be out in the cold. How do you see this problem?

[Meckel] You know that I cannot see things like this and that I think it is an important task to prevent exactly this although we will face a clear problem ourselves. We have a unique chance among those countries hitherto calling themselves socialist in that we shall have a boom by way of the Germans in the Federal Republic and through quick monetary union considering the problems which will confront us, but the downward trend will be significantly shorter than in other East European countries. We will have the frontier of the EC on the Oder with all the surpluses and foreign trade programs which this will bring with it.

[Eichmann] But is not the process of German unification running counter to the process of European unification here? What should one do to overcome this?

[Meckel] I do not think one can say that it runs counter to this although it is clear that German unification will cause great problems for those countries who were our closest partners to date. This is true of trade treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, and other Third World countries. Here it is a matter of seeing how these state treaties—for trade treaties were always state treaties in the case of centrally managed economies—can be changed in such a way that the interests of these treaty partners are still taken into account and that continuity is guaranteed even if the manner of trade has to be changed when we have a market economy.

[Eichmann] What might the German—to be specific the East German—bridging function look like?

[Meckel] It could take the form of very intensive efforts to continue promoting trade with the countries of the East, for example, in the trilateral initiative which we have started together with Poland and Czechoslovakia on institutionalizing the CSCE process, that we have a center—in any case in accordance with our proposal—for settling conflicts and for the peaceful arbitration of conflicts, possibly in Warsaw or in a northern country, a verification center for the reductions in troops which will be agreed upon in Vienna—which will probably, or possibly, be in Berlin—and a council for security and cooperation which will involve holding regular meetings of heads of government, perhaps every one to two years, foreign ministers' meetings every six months, regular ambassadors from the 35 states and a secretariat, perhaps in Prague. These are the basic components of this proposal. That makes it vey clear that it is correct to continue intensive cooperation and the promoting of these countries interests with whom we have cooperated with so far.

Interviewed by TASS

WA2506165590

For an interview with Foreign Affairs Minister M. Meckel by Moscow TASS International Service concerning German unification, please see the Worldwide Issues section of the 25 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Diestel Denies RAF 'Units' in Interior Ministry

LD2506163490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1505 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—As a result of the successes in the search for alleged RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorists, we have gained some new knowledge, Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel told journalists in Berlin today. "We will continue to try to achieve further successes. We know that a large number of alleged terrorists have been systematically infiltrated here. I hope we will soon eliminate this strain, this ballast, and that the women and men will receive appropriate treatment in the place where they belong, on the present FRG territory."

In reply to a remark, that the detained alleged terrorists are people who retired years ago, and to a question on whether he is aware of new findings indicating that there are also active RAF terrorists on GDR territory, Diestel said he can not confirm "that these women and men have retired completely." He can also not confirm the presence of active RAF terrorists on GDR territory.

Asked about possible "ballast" in his own ministry Diestel replied there is surely "someone who has contact with the past." It will be a commission's task to "deal clearly" with these questions. "I do not think that there are, as has been claimed, whole structural units in my ministry. But, you must understand that I cannot answer this question for 150,000 people."

'Considering Resigning' From DSU

LD2506170890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1557 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Interior Minister Diestel, one of the founders of the German Social Union (DSU), is considering resigning from the party. Speaking to journalists in Berlin today the GDR vice premier dissociated himself from the, as he said, "abrupt right-wing pressure" of the DSU.

Asked if he could imagine working with another party in the near future Diestel said: "I can imagine that. I will not go along with this abrupt right-wing pressure that my party has been exercising in the last few weeks." A great deal of support for his policies has been expressed, also by the DSU grass roots.

In a prereleased statement for BILD newspaper (Tuesday [26 Jun] edition) the interior minister said there are "growing radical right-wing tendencies" within the DSU. These were last apparent in the abstentions and votes against the People's Chamber resolution on the Oder-Niesse border. "I have to consider how long I will continue to go along with this," Diestel told the paper. [passage omitted]

SPD Warns FRG SPD Against Unilateral Moves

AU2306195090 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 18 Jun 90 p 1

["HZ/RDH"-signed report: "GDR Social Democratic Party Does Not Want To Be Walked Over"]

[Text] Berlin—The Social Democrats in the GDR insist on being given an adequate share in the discussions and decisions of the social democrats in the FRG, and do not want to be walked over. In an interview with SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Wolfgang Thierse, the new chairman of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] in East Berlin, has warned against any possible attempts to unilaterally make decisions on a joint chairman or a joint candidate for chancellor or a joint-party congress. Thierse proposed a quota for the GDR SPD in connection with appointing members to all the decisive joint bodies. He expects SPD candidate for chancellor, Oskar Lafontaine, to make it clearer than ever before—in particular for the GDR—that he is not opposed to the unity of Germany. Regarding the process of German unification, Thierse advocated all-German elections no sooner than next year. He said that prior to the GDR's accession to the FRG, the legal systems should be adjusted comprehensively and on the basis of joint agreement, and foreign and security policy issues should be clarified. Thierse believes that a more relaxed relationship between the GDR SPD and the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS]—the successor of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—will, if at all, only be possible in the long run. Above all, the PDS must part with the property and assets that it obtained illegitimately or, only seemingly, legitimately.

Political Climate in People's Chamber Criticized

AU2506092190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Jun 90 p 2

[ND reporter W. Huebner report: "Gregor Gysi: Lack of Political Culture in People's Chamber"]

[Text] Berlin—The new People's Chamber is 100 days old and Gregor Gysi, the chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], used the occasion to take stock from the viewpoint of his group. It was above all negative, which is not surprising, "because the contradictions are too large." He said that there is no constructive relationship between the coalition parties and the opposition—regarding the right of codetermination, for instance. He said that more and more often, PDS deputies and others are confronted with the decisive points on the agenda only at the beginning of the respective session. Gysi described this as a considerable lack of political culture.

So far, the decisive issues in the People's Chamber have been the quarrel over a new constitution and state treaty. Gysi added that, so far, nobody has seriously disputed the quality of the draft constitution that was presented by the roundtable. He said that the constitutional principles that have been adopted instead have created total confusion because no article of the existing Constitution has been specifically abrogated. He said that there is no constitutional court to handle the issue; there is only talk about setting up such a court.

Regarding the State Treaty, which came about at breathtaking speed, the government totally excluded the parliament, Gysi said. Those who are now talking about possible amendments by parliament ignore the fact that only its ratification is at issue. Gysi said it was particularly regrettable that many FRG laws are just being taken over without any attempt being made to combine favorable solutions of both countries, or to look for entirely new options.

Gregor Gysi rejected a statement made by Social Democratic Party Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel that the PDS does not agree with the statement of both German parliaments on the Polish western border. He said that the PDS basically backs the statement, but intended to make proposals for its improvement.

Victims of Stalinism To Be Rehabilitated

AU2606091690 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 21 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed DDP report: "Rehabilitation of Victims of Stalinism"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Wednesday [20 June] the GDR Council of Ministers passed a law on the rehabilitation of persons who had suffered unjust penal measures under the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's regime. In addition to a rehabilitation under criminal law, this also involves cases in which GDR citizens suffered damage to their health or material possessions by actions of state organs or enterprises, government spokesman Matthias Gehler told journalists in Berlin after a cabinet session. In addition, regulations are envisaged for the rehabilitation of citizens who were interned, imprisoned, or otherwise detained by allied occupation powers or their authorities following the end of World War II.

The rehabilitation is to have an "idealistic value," Gehler stressed. "The honor and dignity" of the affected people has to be reestablished—at the same time, corresponding procedures "establish" claims to "material compensation." Applications for rehabilitation are to be examined by the bezirk courts and by special senates.

Policy of New Israeli Cabinet Criticized

AU2206194190 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 18 Jun 90 p 2

[Frank E. Lippold commentary: "A Low in the Middle East"]

[Text] What foreign observers but also critics in this country had feared really happened one day after the confirmation of the new Israeli Government by the Knesset: With its first political activities, the right-wing coalition led by the radical-conservative Likud bloc, which Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir himself described as "nationalist," contributed again to the embarrassment of its most important and irreplaceable alliance partner, the United States. As a matter of fact, it was a provocation of Washington when the old, and at the same time, new premier, in an interview with THE WASHINGTON POST, narrowed down the preconditions for talks with the Palestinians which are fundamental for a solution to the Middle East problem, and when he encouraged his close aid, Defense Minister Moshe Arens, to demonstratively pay a visit to Ariel and Ma'ale Adumin, the two largest settlements in the occupied territory of the Arabs, in his capacity as a government member.

Shamir himself stated that in the future he will only talk with Palestinians from the Gaza Strip and West Bank who make it clear from the outset that they would be content with a status of autonomy in these territories. Moreover, he is only ready for dialogue if talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors start at the same time.

These statements, which are strongly opposed to U.S. ideas, drew sharp reactions from Washington: Secretary of State James Baker, who was annoyed that his peace plan for the explosive region had not met with a positive response in Tel Aviv despite the fact that demands put forward earlier by Shamir had been taken into consideration, told the House of Representatives that there will be no peace in the Middle East unless Israel gives up its position. In view of the new discriminating conditions proposed by the Likud leader for talks with the Palestinians, which have meanwhile been rejected by Palestinian leaders, the head of the Department of State is apparently about to completely stop his mediating efforts.

Shamir reacted to this sobering message from overseas in his own way: He gave another interview—this time to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL—and put "a considerable part of the blame" on the United States for the "increasingly belligerent statements" by the Arabs. In addition to that, the Israeli head of government went so far as to claim that Washington would contribute to the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East unless it corrects the impression that a wedge might be driven between the United States and Israel.

However, this is exactly what the Jewish state has been doing for quite some time. With its most recent accusations, the Israeli Government seriously strained its relations with Washington. Diplomats even speak of a low in the traditionally good relations. This would lead to a situation which would not be conducive at all to a quick solution to the explosive Middle East conflict.

Thus, the chairman of the opposition Labor Party in Israel, Shimon Perez, seems to be right: The new cabinet is a "catastrophe" for the country and the region because its most recent demands are "the end of the peace process."

USSR Soldier Seizes Hostages, Later Killed

LD2606075390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0556 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—A hostage-taker, who was killed yesterday evening, was a 19-year-old sergeant in the Western Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. This was announced by the GDR Interior Ministry today. The man had left his post in his unit in the Harrenkrug garrison in Magdeburg yesterday.

At a campground in the recreational center of Gerwisch (Burg District), he had forced a couple and their two children to get into a car and drive in the direction of Burg at gunpoint.

During the course of a large-scale police operation, the vehicle was pursued by People's Police units and prevented from going any further at a road block. The hostage-taker opened fire, injuring a policeman. In the ensuing exchange of shots the hostage-taker was killed.

The couple and their children were not hurt. [passage omitted]

National Assembly's Special Session Agenda

LD2506123190 Budapest MTI in English 1059 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI)—The June 25 workday of the special session of the Hungarian National Assembly opened in Budapest.

On Monday and Tuesday, according to plans, MPS are to discuss the bill on prolonging the commissions of court lay assessors, the settlement of the force of the law of 1989 on taxation for state loans granted for home building or purchasing, the bill submitted to amend the law of 1987 on land, the amendment of the law of 1960 on mining, and the amendment of the statutory role of 1974 on state and public security.

The agenda also includes tasks related to the distribution of budgetary support to social organizations not registered as parties, and discussion of the parliamentary resolution proposal on the relation between the Republic of Hungary and the Warsaw Treaty. MPS are expected to elect the president of the Supreme Court, and the chief public prosecutor, on Monday.

Four members of parliament have submitted interpellations, discussion of which is scheduled for Tuesday.

Gyorgy Szabad, who is chairing the session, announced that the government has submitted the bill on local governments, the bill on the election of local government representatives and mayors, and the bill on amending the Constitution of the Republic of Hungary, and requested urgency motion.

Parliament agreed with the urgency discussion of the three related bills, and will begin the general debate over the bills at its session next week.

Interior Minister on Holding Referendum

LD2506114190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0932 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Speech by Interior Minister Balazs Horvath at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Within two minutes and three sentences: The Ministry for the Interior has been approached several times during the morning by the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], and was called to ask about the referendum.

Once again, I would like to state that the Ministry of Interior and the Hungarian public administration can and will conduct the referendum at the time decided by you. The responsibility for the moral and financial consequences of this will rest upon those who do not consider how, as a result of his vote, his decision, the Hungarian public administration will carry out this task. As to its consequence, it is not very difficult to predict that it will crack under the strain.

I had received letters from the administration of nine settlements, villages, towns, in which they informed me—and if necessary I will submit these letters to the honored House—that they are unable to carry it out, because—and I do not want to exceed the two minutes—they moved the holidays up as far as possible, allowing the Hungarian public administration time to logistically and mentally prepare for the local elections. Paper will have to be obtained; technically we can carry it out. Obviously there will be hickups, but the public administration is able to do it.

But we do not make the decision about this question, and therefore it was a slip, and a strange slip which we had just heard, because we do not set the referendum, neither the Ministry of Interior nor the Minister for the Interior. You will decide on the timing, and the public administration will operate in accordance with this. Thank you!

Lay Assessor Bill Adopted

LD2506115890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0943 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Excerpts] [Szabad] Esteemed National Assembly, let us proceed to the debate on the draft bill extending the mandates of judicial lay assessors. The draft bill has been sent under No. 121 to my fellow deputies. The speaker for the agenda point is Istvan Balsai, minister of justice. I hand it over to him.

[Balsai] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed National Assembly, as you also know, public opinion is dealing with this, too. It is a question of the law on the courts, the No. four law of 1972. Its reexamination is in progress. This is a longer procedure; it is a question of reworking the judicial organization and the affiliated civil and penal procedures bill in accordance with the demands of the age. Until this is completed, however, it is necessary to take an immediate measure that would continuously assure the operation of the courts. It is obviously also well known that according to section 74 of the law on the courts, the mandates of judicial lay assessors and of professional and reenlisted assessors of the military courts—mandates obtained by elections—last for a five-year term. Those assessors whose mandates are to lapse in the coming days had to be elected by 31 July 1985. The law guarantees the right of nominating assessors to the workers of the various enterprises, cooperatives, social organizations, and state institutions functioning in the area of the court. Conversely, in the case of labor tribunals and courts dealing with juvenile cases, the law guarentees the right of nominating assessors to the county councils of trade unions. The right of electing would belong, in part, to the local councils concerned, and, in part, to the county councils. The cycle of lay assessor elections has followed that of the council elections; elections took place at the founding sessions of the councils. It is an evident fact that the fundamental social changes of the recent past have completely overtaken the provisions of the law and have rendered them outmoded. It is practically impossible to observe the rules

applying to nomination, because the provisions connected with trade unions could not even be applied by now. Obviously there is also an interest that the lay assessors should already be elected by the new self-government bodies. At the same time, it is also raised, and on the basis of the solution proposed by us it will also be possible, to comprehensively reexamine the provisions of the law of the courts relating to sentencing by assessors. Also, the rules of civil and penal procedures must be reexamined to prepare the new regulation.

Taking account of all this, first and foremost naturally in the interest of the continuous guarantee of the sentencing activity of the courts, it is necessary that the mandates of the lay assessors should not cease when the time as stated in the law expires. The transition can be guaranteed if the esteemed National Assembly extends the mandates of the present assessors until at least 31 December 1990. Esteemed National Assembly, on the basis of what I have said, I ask that you adopt the draft bill. [passage omitted]

[Szabad] I announce to my fellow deputies that the time has come to take a vote. [passage omitted] Esteemed National Assembly, I note that the National Assembly with 242 yes votes, five no votes, and 14 abstentions has adopted the draft bill on extending the mandates of the judicial lay assessors.

Tax on State Housing Loans To Be Repaid

LD2506125590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0954 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Speech by Katalin Botos, state secretary at the Finance Ministry, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, esteemed house: In the hope of being able to convey a positive message to parliament and the population concerned, I would like to put forward the government's position concerning the present proposal [to settle the validity of the law concerning the tax on state loans for housing].

As a reminder of the preliminaries, I would like to refer to the fact that the Constitutional Court of the Hungarian Republic declared the law concerning the payment of tax on housing loans for the year 1990—Statute 49, 1989 unconstitutional —and the Council of Ministers' order of execution for the same, and abolished it. But the statute remained valid between 1 January 1990 and 9 April 1990, so for this period the tax liability of the citizens remained. The period for settling this liability expires on 30 June 1990, and after this, if there is no other decision, the public administration machinery must start proceedings for the collection of the tax. It is obvious that the citizens' sense of legal justice is offended by having to pay tax in accordance with a statute that had already been declared unconstitutional and had been abolished. It offends those who had already paid the tax and would offend those from whom this would now be collected.

In the interest of correcting this situation, the Council of Ministers—based on the proposal put forward by the Ministry of Finance—decided to place before the house a bill to terminate the validity of Statute 449, 1989. This is what has happened in our proposal submitted to you. To settle affairs fairly, it is necessary that those private persons who had already paid some 50 million forints should obtain some form of compensation. So that the law- abiding citizens should not suffer damage, we propose that to private persons who already paid the tax, it should be repaid with 10-percent interest, within 15 days of the law being passed, by the same financial institution where the tax was originally paid. I am drawing the attention of the esteemed house, and those concerned, that the 10 percent, converted into an annual interest rate, amounts to an interest of 25-40 percent, depending on the time the tax was paid.

If you agree to this 10 percent, this will cover the costs which occurred in connection with the payments of the tax for all private individuals and any damage, and thus the individual calculation of costs and damages can be avoided.

To my knowledge, the Budget and constitutional Committees did consider the proposal, some clarifying proposals were made which you have in front of you under No. 133. To my knowledge both committees agree to these. The modifications concern no matter of substance and are purely there to make things more precise, in the context that it make this 10 percent in the explanations clear and straightforward. Here it really is a question of compensation and not only compensation which is less than the costs and damage for those law-abiding citizens who had already paid the tax.

Therefore, I express agreement to these proposals on behalf of the government, and I ask you to accept our proposal.

[At 1026 GMT the National Assembly votes on the proposal, which is passed by 274 votes in favor and nine against.]

Security Issues Debated

LD2506192990 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament's Monday [25 June] debate on the modification to the law-decree 17 of 1974 on state and public security was characterized by passionate altercations between the governing majority and the opposition.

In the course of the debate, the majority of opposition mps [members of parliament] sounded sceptical on whether it was a sensible idea at all to make a temporary legal provision on the subject.

MPs from the governing Hungarian Democratic Forum spoke in support of the temporary legislation.

Describing the opinion outvoted by the National Security Committee, Chairman Gabor Demszky (AFD) [Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ] said four members of the committee were against both the government bill and the modificatory motion submitted by the other eight members, which basically said that during the transition period, the supervision of security services should be in charge of a minister without portfolio.

Like a number of other free democrats, Mr Demszky felt that the responsibility should rest directly with the prime minister.

At the same time he called for speeding up the drafting process of the law on national security, which should adequately separate the functions of the national security services and the military intelligence and counterintelligence, define the supervisory authority of the related parliamentary committee, clear up the rules relating to the use of secret service methods as well as the range of legal remedies.

The debate on the bill is to continue on Tuesday.

Warsaw Treaty Withdrawal Proposed

LD2606102690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0843 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Speech by Alliance of Free Democrats Deputy Miklos Vasarhelyi at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, Esteemed National Assembly! As Mr. Speaker mentioned, more than a month ago, on 15 May, I had presented the motion, on behalf of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrates] MP's, that the National Assembly should decide on the relation between the Hungarian Republic and the Warsaw Treaty. Parliament, in accordance with the house rules, referred my proposal to the Foreign Affairs Committee. The proposal has now been returned to the extraordinary session as a proposal from the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Because quite some time has lapsed between the two dates, allow me to briefly recall the substance of the original proposal.

The introduction established the history of the proposal as of 1 November 1956, when the Imre Nagy government made a public statement declaring their intention to leave the Warsaw Treaty effective immediately. It is with special personal satisfaction and honor that I am able to present this proposal myself, after more than 30 years. At the time, I personally took part in the wording of the 1956 statement, and on 1 November I made the public announcement of this statement via the press and radio. As is known, on 4 November 1956, treachery and foreign intervention prevented the statement becoming legally valid. Now, the freely elected parliament, has the opportunity to repair this historical injustice and give the decision we made then, legal validity.

Based on this historical and legal background, we put forward the proposal that parliament should declare that the cancellation of the 1956 statement was the result of external pressure and was illegal.

In the next logical step, which is the second point of our proposal, we are calling on parliament to ask the Government of the Hungarian Republic to start negotiations—on the basis of the above—with the governments of the countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty to restore the legal position.

The third point of our proposal said that until the agreement is made, parliament calls on the government of the Hungarian Republic to suspend Hungary's participation in the military organization of the Warsaw Treaty. In the fourth point parliament calls on the Government of the Hungarian Republic to start negotiations with the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty concerning the reexamination of bilateral, so-called friendship and mutual assistance treaties, as these are parts or consequence of the system of treaties which were part of the Warsaw Treaty.

Finally, in the fifth point of our proposal, we declared that parallel to the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty, we are working toward the creation of a total European security system. In this context we are remaining in continuous, informative contact with the other member states of the treaty.

After this information, allow me to make two short observations. When we presented the proposal, it generally had a favorable reception from the house and public opinion. However, some understandably had second thoughts and others had some worries about this step; this can be can be appreciated when making such an important, fundamental decision. Fortunately, later on as a result of the official position taken by the government, these doubts primarily disappeared. There were, however, misunderstandings and misrepresentations as well. Some interpreted our proposal, as a unilateral, ultimatum-like, rushed, and risky step, although we had repeatedly emphasized in our proposal, that we wish to reach this result through negotiations, and by reaching agreement. This concern was therefore unfounded.

My second observation is that the Foreign Affairs Committee had considered our proposal thoroughly, conscientiously, and systematically. They did not give an opinion on it, as was originally their intended role, but with our active participation reworked and extended the original proposal. To make this possible, there was need for understanding and willingness to compromise on our part as well, and we left out several paragraphs from the original proposal about which we felt strongly. But, we had to concentrate on the essential, to cease our participation in the Warsaw Treaty and to suspend our participation in its military organization. I regard as useful the fact that we could come to agreement on this question, confirmed by the document now in front of you. I regard this as important because it indicates to all—and first of

all to the partners involved—that behind the position of the government, stands parliament representing the will of the nation. Thank you.

Six Military Attache Offices To Close

LD2506175790 Budapest MTI in English 1637 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 25 (MTI)—In an effort to establish the system of military diplomatic representation which is the most suitable for Hungary as well as to cut costs, the leadership of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence decided to cease the military attache's office in the capitals of Ethiopia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Mozambique and Vietnam, effective from this year.

On the basis of the new foreign and military political concept and in view of the country's economic situation, the defence ministry had first reviewed the system of military diplomatic relations and then took this decision, MTI was told by Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Hungarian Ministry of Defence.

The Hungarian Army had maintained military diplomatic relations with 33 countries via the military attache's office in 28 capitals.

This year, there will be a regular change of attaches in six countries. Besides, there will be an out-of-schedule appointment of military attaches—parallel to relieving the current ones—in Moscow, Berlin, Prague, Helsinki and Paris.

Istvan Balsai on Justice Ministry's Goals

AU2506134190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Jun 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Justice Minister Istvan Balsai by Balazs Stepan; place and date not given: "Ratification To Be Accelerated"; first two paragraphs are MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] Perhaps Justice Minister Istvan Balsai had the opportunity to take up his position with few worries. His predecessor left him a well-organized and high-level administration, and a massive departure of personnel did not occur in this ministry.

In addition to the state secretary in charge of public administration, today three deputy state secretaries are guiding the main departments in this ministry: the Public Law, the International and Criminal Law, and the Civilian and Economic Law Departments. The state secretary for public administration is responsible for the ministry's operation and the deputy state secretaries are responsible for the professional preparation of decisions. All of them are directly responsible to the minister. A three-member ministerial staff and an adequate number of experts support the activity of the political state secretary in the Parliament.

[Stepan] According to what legislation program does the ministry prepare to work?

[Balsai] In the short term, within the shortest possible time, we must prepare several public laws. The press law, the law on national minorities, and the law on the activity of the ombudsman are all our tasks, as well as working out the legal status of parliamentary deputies, their remuneration, and their immunity rights. The law on the deputies' legal status and their immunity is part of the classic parliamentary legislation, and therefore we are counting on the active participation of the deputies in these matters. Our task is to draw up the final regulations concerning the responsibility of the minister and the state secretary. The Interior Ministry is in charge of formulating the law on public services, self-government, and the election of self-governing bodies, but we will make a joint proposal; this means that we will not only carry out the classic form of supervising legislation but we will also be co-authors of these laws. In short, these are our most urgent tasks. [passage omitted]

[Stepan] The International Law and Criminal Law Departments are now together in the ministry. What is the reason for this surprising combination?

[Balsai] One of the major tasks of the International Main Department will be to accelerate the ratification of international agreements. Years of delay in ratification are unacceptable for the West, especially if it seems that we want to slow down this process, despite our best intentions. Our goal is to be able to join the Council of Europe as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

[Stepan] The reform in the administration of justice has begun and is proceeding properly. Both you and the state secretary for public administration said that the Justice Ministry should completely withdraw from the daily practice of administering justice. How do you foresee implementing this task?

[Balsai] We must create all the conditions for the judges' independence. Courts should be independent from the budget and totally independent financially and organizationally. A provisional council of judges was set up in the time of my predecessor, and all major decisions should be made by this council. [passage omitted]

[Stepan] Even during former Minister Kulcsar's time, in the initial stages of the reexamination of the Constitution, a strong debate emerged on where the Public Prosecutors' Department should belong. What is your opinion?

[Balsai] In my view, the Public Prosecutor's Department should be incorporated in the Justice Ministry by preserving the full organizational unity of this department. We should eliminate this department's independent legal status because great power is concentrated in the hands of this department. It should not be a separate power factor because this does not fit into the current concept of the division of power, and this contradicts the logic and practical consequences of this concept. [passage omitted]

European Investment Bank Offers Credits

LD2506124390 Budapest MTI in English 1215 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 25, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The European Investment Bank is to grant Hungary and Poland credits worth 1 billion ecu, to speed up restructuring of the two economies. A skeleton agreement laying down general rules of cooperation was signed in Luxembourg on Monday by the European Investment Bank and the National Bank of Hungary.

The credit is not to be divided in advance between Hungary and Poland but will go to the best proposals and investment ideas from either country. The loans will have a maturity of 10-12 years in the case of production-related projects, while for investments in infrastructure maturity will be 12-20 years. The grace period will vary between 2 and 5 years.

The skeleton agreement stipulates that the European Investment Bank will grant the loans under guarantees by the National Bank of Hungary and the Hungarian state. Terms for loans in Hungary will be in line with Hungarian monetary and credit policy guidelines and the usual credit terms and conditions. Credits by EIB will be put at Hungary's disposal at market interest rates, made up of the EIB's own expenses plus 0.15 per cent.

Under the preliminary agreement, the European Investment Bank is to grant Hungary sizeable amounts this year for such projects as energy-saving investments, the development of telecommunications, road building, and for the support of small and medium-sized companies.

Preliminary talks suggest that the Hungarian electricity board will take out 35 million ecus' worth of credit for energy-saving purposes, while talks are also under way on the use of 80-100 million ecu for telecommunictions development and 20-25 million ecu for assisting small and medium-sized companies.

Antall Supports NATO Membership for Germany

LD2206180190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Paris correspondent Miklos Keleti report]

[Excerpt] During an exchange of political views about the future of the continent, a misunderstanding was cleared up. Michel Rocard originally thought that Hungary wanted the simultaneous dissolution of the two military blocks. In reply, Jozsef Antall stressed emphatically that Hungary takes no exception whatsoever to NATO. Moreover, we consider it to be in the interest of the whole of Europe that a united Germany be a signatory of the North Atlantic Treaty.

At the same time, both heads of government agreed that in the long term an all-European security system was needed in which both the Soviet Union and the United States participated.

Hungary supports President Mitterrand's proposal for the creation of a European confederation, Jozsef Antall continued, adding that a confederation would be most reassuring from the point of view of the national minorities and, of course, the Magyars living beyond our borders. [passage omitted]

Romanian Minority Rights Record Assailed

LD2506194390 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, June 25 (MTI)—At the Monday plenary session of the human dimension conference in Copenhagen, Ambassador Andre Erdos emphatically denied the Romanian ambassador's latest rude anti-Hungarian manifestation.

Last weekend—in response to the Hungarian contribution made a week before—the Romanian diplomat accused the Hungarian ambassador of "not saying one true sentence in connection with the minorities living in Romania" in his address, and said that the notions of collective minority rights and mother nation were nonsense.

The Hungarian diplomat stressed it was unacceptable that Romania would regard the notions of collective minority rights and mother nation as absurd, when it had been Romania that had set up the autonomous Hungarian territory.

The head of the Hungarian delegation repeatedly called for closing the inquiry into the March events in Tirgu Mures as soon as possible and name the perpetrators.

Speaking of the grave situation of the Hungarian minority, he said that the autonomous province and Hungarian University no longer existed, and that the use of the Hungarian language was restricted, a fact also manifest in the latest educational reform.

He also referred to a serious incident on June 4, when the documents of a Cluj teacher, Annamaria Biro, were taken from her on the Hungarian-Romanian border, on her way to Copenhagen, and returned only 10 days later by the Romanian ambassador to Copenhagen.

Ms Biro went to Copenhagen as the delegate of the New York-based Hungarian Human Rights Foundation to brief the conference on the grim situation of the Hungarian community in Romania.

Then, Mr Erdos went on to voice his regret at the continued restriction of minority rights in Romania. He also pointed out to the Romanian delegation that other participants of the conference had also sharply criticized the aggressive and anti-democratic minority policy of the Romanian leadership.

"The Romanian delegate's address made the impression as if he had been speaking at last year's human dimension conference in Paris as the representative of a totally different Romania," Mr Erdos said.

New Romanian Government, President Analyzed

AU2506135190 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Jun 90 p 2

[Imre Krajczar editorial: "Iliescu's Test"]

[Text] President Iliescu—but not democracy—was officially inaugurated in Bucharest yesterday. The ceremony was marred by the parliamentary fuss of the previous day in which the Hungarian party, the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR]—which came in second in the elections—failed to put a single deputy parliamentary chairman in the highest forum of the people's representation.

Thus, Iliescu's inauguration was wrapped up in the fog of the so-called majority democracy asserted in the most brutal way possible. The centuries-old absolutist nature of Romanian national political continuity makes it impossible to question the legitimacy or the sense of the will of the majority.

The government claims today that there has been no official proof of the suspected election abuses, and the foreign observers could not come up with facts that might cast a serious and pressing shadow on the elections. For matters of simplicity, let us also refrain from doubting the correctness and legality of these elections. It is another matter to ask what kind of lawfulness this is which allows such an ill-willed oppression on the basis of nationality, language, and ethnicity—in which the majority has no insight, the decisive majority does not even think of the possibility of committing itself to the principle of mutuality, and it does not refrain from brushing off the smallest scraps of rights from the table of the political force that came in second in the elections, especially if this happens to be Hungarian.

President Iliescu is a well-known figure all over the world. The fact that he repeatedly appeared in the spotlights during the Ceausescu regime and he also had the opportunity to appear in international forums greatly contributed to the shaping of his image, and thus, he is known not only for his belonging to the circle of people around the former dictator.

However, a part of the Western public is at least already suspicious and does not want to believe that the former bad knights have suddenly become noble ones, especially when one can see that the "new man" has, so far, been far from using his power for the benefit of fairness and the preservation of human dignity, but has greatly submitted to the waves of moods based on more vulgar passions. So far, in the case of the pogrom of Tirgu Mures, only Gypsies calling themselves Hungarians have been prosecuted, people who used sticks against the knights carrying out a pogrom against Hungarians. However, the real Romanian democrats are not having any more luck either. These people are shocked to see that everything around them seems to darken, and both the desire for democratization and the series of student demands lead to the same reflexes on the part of the government: calling up tens of thousands of people dressed in miners' uniforms.

In the sense of a Western and European constitutional state, democracy should be parliamentarian; however, the consolidating leadership in Bucharest clearly is not satisfied with only the new Romanian parliament's practice, which guarantees the oppression of national minorities, but it also "emphasizes" this by mobilizing those in the streets.

Why then is it necessary to play the parliamentary games?

The U.S. ambassador was recently recalled from Bucharest for consultations to make sure that he did not have to participate in the brightly staged inauguration ceremony. Although the heads of the other NATO countries' missions in Bucharest participated in the ceremony, they were strictly forbidden to participate in the reception following the inauguration. The leading EEC and NATO circles urge retributions and call for sending observers to examine the situation. At least in words, the leadership in Bucharest no longer rejects the idea of some kind of international control, and this is something new.

Obviously, the world is set to watch the events and is waiting with adolescent impatience for the smallest signs of easing the suffocating pressure and is ready to properly evaluate these signs. Washington's rebukes also promise to be dangerous because the ruckus concerning granting or delaying most-favored-nation status will immediately effect those concerned.

Besides, the Hungarians, who continue to be neglected and forced into the background, are not very happy about such prospects. This is understandable, because it is highly probable that the possible retributions will be passed on to the Hungarians. Other opposition forces are not entirely happy either. They know that, gladly giving in to various domestic and foreign pressures, the foreign powers will eliminate the restrictions. Together with us, the Romanian opposition and the Hungarians living in Romania hope that the development of the new regime will be accompanied by the perfection of democracy, and this will make it possible to also assert human, national, and national minority rights, rights asserted with great hiatus at present.

It will be a test of Iliescu to see if he will do something genuine in this matter and whether, after maintaining permanent chaos, he will finally shift to the political rules that can be democratically controlled. Or will he continue to assert the political continuity which was still in force the day before yesterday, following the Byzantine centuries and decades of Romanian history?

Although we are filled with anguish, we hope for the better option. Now we will not leave it to careless optimism, and now we must consider the political career in which the current president has repeatedly risked falling from grace, and, with his courageous stand, he has often endangered his own momentary interests. We hope it is also worth considering all this.

Editor Comments on Romanian Civil War Danger

AU2206123790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with Zoltan Szabo Tibori, chief editor of the SZABADSAG in Cluj, by Oszkar Fuzes; place and date not given: "There Can Be Civil War Without Democracy"]

[Text] Zoltan Szabo Tibori thinks that the recent events in Bucharest carry the danger of chaos or even civil war.

[Fuzes] Is the situation that dangerous?

[Tibori] The "situation" did not emerge now. The crisis is the direct result of the fact that the provisional government vacillated for a long time. As the period preceding the events in Tirgu Mures also showed, the provisional government simply proved to be incapable of taking a stand against the extremist forces. The other reason is that the government did not start immediate negotiations with the political formations that organized the 51-day demonstration in the University Square in Bucharest. Not only "hooligans" were demonstrating in Bucharest, as the government tried to present it, but also serious political groupings. However, the government did not want to take them into consideration. Instead, the government watched the serious deterioration in the health of the hunger strikers idly , but it did not start negotiations.

[Fuzes] In other words, the government negotiated neither with the "mob" nor with the serious political forces. Why did the serious political forces have to use means such as street demonstrations?

[Tibori] Because the government did not want to negotiate with them in any way whatsoever.

[Fuzes] Why do people call Iliescu's government a neo-communist government? There is a multiparty system today, there were free elections, and the freedom of press is working more or less.

[Tibori] Because almost no changes have taken place so far in the real balance of forces and in the power structure. The old "big shots" preserved their power and do not want to give up their privileges.

[Fuzes] President Iliiescu blames the successors of the iron guard and other extremist forces for the violence.

[Tibori] The government was quite late in finding this out. People have known about the existence of these extremists forces since January. It is a fact that some extremist forces made use of the movement of demonstrators who sought noble goals to destabilize the situation.

[Fuzes] In view of all this, was it correct to use the police and Army to round up demonstrators in the University Square?

[Tibori] In any case, it would have been more correct to hold genuine talks with the demonstrators from the very beginning.

[Fuzes] What do you expect in the near future? Will the Romanian democracy consolidate?

[Tibori] This depends primarily on the ability of the Parliament to achieve reconciliation among conflicting major political forces. In other words, this depends on the readiness of the government to engage in a dialogue and its actual determination to refrain from dressing the old things up in new clothes and to promote the development of a really democratic system.

[Fuzes] In conclusion, what is new in Cluj?

[Tibori] In Cluj, we have recently been watching the anti-Hungarian incitements and outbursts of the Vatra Romaneasca with great concern. However, the Hungarians hope that, sooner or later, we can also sit down and negotiate with Romanians who want a dialogue for democracy. Undoubtedly, there are such people too. Together we must come to a formula in which everyone can live in peace. On our part, we are ready for this.

Mazowiecki on Criticism, Views Responsibility

LD2506121390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Report on statement by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Szczecin on 24 June]

[Text] During yesterday's visit to Szczecin for the Days of the Sea, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki met members of the Solidarity regional board in the city. He was asked about the conflict with Lech Walesa. The prime minister said:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] I am trying to be very restrained despite the fact that he was not always, so to speak, very restrained in relation to me [words indistinct]. I have tried to ignore this. As I have said publicly, people should receive an explanation of this matter. I am not a party to this conflict; I am perhaps the subject of this conflict, but not a party. I have done nothing to be a party. That is the first thing.

However, I cannot agree to such a program in which there is only talk of acceleration—acceleration using those same arguments, the same program, which the government is implementing, but only stating that this government (?or another) would do it more quickly, better, and more perfectly. Without going into the [indistinct word] difficulties, of the complicated situation, and without taking responsibility, it is very easy to talk when you have no responsibility, and you are not responsible for that. We also want to do things more quickly and more efficiently in many areas, but we are responsible for the decisions and the activity of certain defined conditions. That is why, in my opinion, talking about this or other matters as if nothing was happening, nothing had changed, and the only way out would be some kind of acceleration, and not a battle for certain arguments or about a certain program, is putting the issue precisely in a very one-sided manner, which is difficult for me to agree to.

There is a third matter. I would very much like these matters to be depersonalized, so that they are not seen in terms of a conflict between people. In my opinion, the essence of the problem depends on whether there should be democracy in Poland, to which everyone is subordinate [words indistinct] with people, and on this basis, let's say, we will decide on whether that democracy should be subordinated to the people of most merit. The government believes that the permanent construction of democracy in Poland is necessary, to which everyone must subordinate themselves.

I cannot say that there is no problem because the problem is too evident today to the naked eye, but I repeat I am not the one who's provoking it, and who's intensifying it. For me the problem [words indistinct] only in the categories of the construction of Polish democracy. I can resign from everything but from the principle that the personal choices should be subordinated to democracy. I won't give up that principle: I'm going to defend it. [end recording]

Walesa Defends Statements, on Current Issues

LD2506162190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Today, at the Warsaw University's main auditorium, a meeting was held of the KO [Citizens' Committee] to answer the question on what our native Polish political landscape should look like. The deliberations lasted over seven hours, and we are now presenting an extensive report on this meeting. [passage omitted on history of how the committee was formed] To start with, we invite you to listen to Lech Walesa.

[Begin recording] [Walesa] Throughout the past 10 years, I tried to conduct our struggle. You helped me very much with it, both you here and other groups, shipyard and dockworkers. We have gained a magnificent victory, and for this everyone deserves recognition. Here, I would like to thank you very much; the struggle was sophisticated and it led to success.

Today, however, we find ourselves at the crossroads. Today we can really push things forward and, at the same time, we can waste our victory. That is why I would like us, in the name of our glorious struggle and the victory, to talk about all that has been going on in our country. So far we have had no chance—as we were always rushed for time and I do not know whether it was a good or a bad thing—but an awful lot of misunderstandings have occurred, and a lot of irritation. I have doubts whether this was the point. More and more often I received letters and I notice graffitti on the walls, saying: Commies come back.

Another sentence I often hear: that some gang got to the trough, maybe the Jews, and they are destroying us. When I say Jews, I do not mean the Jewish nation, not as an anti-Semitic remark, but those who are in business only for themselves.

So, in other words, in case someone here should think that anti-Semitism is growing in Poland, that is not the case. Since such things, since I am coming across such things, that is why I am looking for the causes. Well, and I have to say that I too would like to say something like this sometimes. I am beginning to have suspicions as to whether there really was some plot, maybe at Magdalenka [where roundtable met], but if it was at Magdalenka, then I was there. I did not take part in a plot. I try to do exactly those things which I told the public I would do; I am trying to implement all our assumptions, without even taking friends into account. And here, I hear that my teachers, among whom I include, for example, Mr. Turowicz, who taught me Polishness, who taught me patriotism, have doubts about the intentions of our activities. Yes, and other things are turning up in the context of our wanting to destabilize the country, of our being threatened with

splits, of our undermining the prime minister and government. Ladies and gentlemen, what do I hear? How could it have come to this? In view of this, and of this program which was submitted to you here, ladies and gentlemen, I would propose a general confession. I would propose a general confession since neither I, nor Mr. Turowicz, nor others deserve the issue being put in such a way, deserve such treatment. We must understand each other, and we cannot move well in the struggle for a better Poland. Therefore, please let us change the program, and let those in particular who have something to say consult on and discuss the most important issues, for not more than an hour.

We are censored, I am censored very often, I have to state this with regret. The news that I get, and the context in which I am reported, is an irony, it is quite contrary to my intentions. Yesterday, for instance, or the day before yesterday, the government spokesperson came out with their utterance: This accelerator with an axe [ten przyspieszacz z siekiera]. Ladies and gentlemen, this is a scandal. I want to tell you: If anyone has doubts about the acceleration, then I would like to tell you that when I proposed that the government should have special powers, that was acceleration. See, in what context have I been shown to the world and Poland: a man who is making an attack on democracy. And the context was as follows: We are changing the system, and in connection with this many gaps will appear and no law will keep up with them, not even the best parliament could keep up; hence the idea of special powers, needed then and today, not against the democracy or the government, but needed to block the unfavorable phenomena that disturb democracy and make it difficult. If such powers were used with regard to the cooperatives, RSW Prasa [Workers Publishing Cooperative], the nomenklatura, the companies—how much trouble and problems would we have saved then. Yet we are not judged for what we have done; it is a mistake. We are judged for what we have not done.

So, in connection with this, I repeat this once again so that we may understand each other. So, well, I don't know how to do this but I think that perhaps on the basis of questions and doubts—for I have a question for Mr. Turowicz, for example, I would like, for half an hour to discuss with you, ladies and gentlemen, because everything that has been said from a wrong premise must be shown that that was not the point and that that was not the way that we were being written and spoken about [as heard]. After this confession it will be easier for us and for Poland to understand what is happening and where the dangers lie. I invite you to this confession and would like to ask Mr. Turowicz to speak first since I have called upon him. I would like to hear your complaints, your problems—how are we to go together with Poland. [applause]

Mr Turowicz is saying I have not finished yet, we do not have enough time, we are always in a hurry. I want for all the doubts which have appeared and which are irritating Poles to be explained at once, published in Poland, and this time they will be published in full. Let Poland hear where the problems of Mr. Turowicz are, where the problems of Mr. Walesa are, where Poland is. [applause]

Let me encourage you again, sir; I have heard that you said: It is necessary to protect the government of Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and I am replying to you: The government of Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is protected in words, but not in deeds. I am provoking you, that is clear. Sir, there was Slupsk, there was Mlawa, there was "shipyard times five," where nobody protected Premier Mazowiecki, or the government, or the reforms. Where were you? In declarations. Ladies and gentlemen, the time for declarations has ended; the time of work and specifics [has begun]. [applause]

Let us continue. What I have heard about farmers from Mlawa—you are thinking, let us give you enough time—the farmers in Mlawa, who were confronted by SKOTs [type of armored personnel carrier], they were right, they were treated in a humiliating way.

They set milk aside thinking that it would be in May, that they would get 550 zlotys in June. They came for their pay, they got 200 zlotys and so, a swindle, and also a piece of paper saying that in June, they can set it aside on their own heads, they won't get anything. That is to ridicule working people. We must not act like this. And what was needed here was those excellent minds, teachers of democracy, who would explain to one and the other [applause] that we are building Poland, that things are difficult in Poland; please understand us, dear farmers. It will be yours. Don't force the government to use SKOTs. This must be solved. And after some time, I hear from the minister that, yes, nothing in Poland has changed; we have to translate our correct arguments for some people using SKOTs. Dear ladies and gentlemen, that's not the sort of Poland I wanted to build. Please, can we now have the discussion or not, Mr. Turowicz? Well, Poland is waiting for your grievances against Walesa and democracy, sir. [applause]

[Unidentified speaker] Ladies and gentlemen, as a result of the operation of spontaneous democracy, the agenda has been changed, as you have noticed, ladies and gentlemen. The chairman, who is the main host, invites Mr. Jerzy Turowicz to take the floor.

[Walesa] No, ladies and gentlemen, I want this immediately, because that's not the issue, because I could also present the text of a 10-page speech, only we would not solve problems. Specifically, let us give each other an answer: Where are we? Let's give an answer to where we are on every subject, and then Poland will be satisfied, and there will be satisfaction here, and we will go forward purified, having confessed, with Poland. And if you make me a speech, sir, then I will also make one, and where will we be? (?They will both) have talked to each other. There are reservations; for example, you could attack me, for example: Why was Wujec treated the way he was? Why was Michnik treated the way he was? You have heard the stories, but they are complete fairy tales,

dear ladies and gentlemen, a complete swindle, and I want to explain this. [applause]

[Reporter] Jerzy Turowicz, editor in chief of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

[Turowicz] Ladies and gentlemen, as you know, I was called up to the blackboard by Mr. Chairman. My name did not figure among those 13 who had already signed up to speak. I do not have a speech prepared; this has its positive side, because I will not be speaking for long. Of course, I don't think I will be able to say anything very different from what I have said several times over the last few days. But first, I will say this: I don't have to assure you, ladies and gentlemen, of my enormous respect for Lech Walesa. We all know what role he played in history; he has entered Polish history, and the thing that is called the Kracow initiative was not directed against him personally, and I neither had nor have any doubts about his good intentions. However, it is a fact that the events on our political stage over the past few weeks in particular have raised not only my anxiety. On what is this anxiety based? At the moment, I believe, we believe, my friends believe that the program of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government is the only possible road. It is difficult and painful, the economic reform; we know how bad the material position of our society is; we know because this was predicted, because this was promised, that things would become stil worse for some time, so that we would then be able to move upwards. Well, in this situation where no one has specifically proposed an alternative program or economic reform or political reform, in this situation, we felt that these movements on the political stage, described in the perhaps slightly unpleasant terms of acceleration, which threaten some violent disturbance of the existing political system; which may interrupt the implementation of the program of economic and political reform, and interrupt it for several months; which may cause Poland, which today in Central- Eastern Europe is seen, is regarded throughout the world, in the West, as in relative terms the most stabilized country, precisely because it is moving toward democracy in an evolutionary way, in a peaceful manner, without, not in a violent manner, as occured in some other countries of this region. [sentence as heard]

That is the cause of great trust for us in the West. Upsetting that political alignment, and there is a fear, that that upsetting could be quite brutal, quite violent, it would break that trust, it would cause it to be rescinded.

People talk about pluralism. The totalitarian system has of course ended; we are in a democracy, pluralism, as all possibilities for the development of pluralism exist. Political parties are being created. It's a very good thing that they're being created, let them be formed. Let them grow in strength, which generally at the moment they have not got. Let them articulate their programs, let them gain a social basis, let them gain a mandate, then, and to the extent of what kind of mandate they are going to have, they are going to be able to play an appropriate role in political life, they are going to be able to have a role in parliament, in the government, and so on. But that is a slow process, after 45 years, or 50 years without democracy, without the possibility to form critical and independent views amongst the majority of people. That is why one should wait for it, and I do not really see how one could accelerate the forming of political pluralism in an artificial manner.

However, already, it is not the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki but the philosophy of this state, the way to democracy, the construction of democratic institutions that require some kind of enormous support from the whole of society and all the people, who feel responsible and who give priority to the common good of the whole nation, the whole of society above group interests, even purely ideological but none the less particularist interests.

This, in fact is all I would have to say. The things that we tried to do in Kracow and so on, and what we will be trying to continue, depending on how it develops, say, in the nearest future, today and in the next few days—the future of the Citizens Committees—its aim is solely that we should not wreck this enormous thing that has happened in Poland. Thank you. [applause]

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I would prefer that we did not applaud each other, because it is not the case that I want to remove (?people). [applause continues] Mr. Turowicz raised three issues: Acceleration, the way I have used the word, follow this up, it originated from the time, from that moment, when I said that the opportunity, the present which turned up when the party dissolved itself, was not exploited. This was something which should have been exploited, regardless of the price, not because things would have been better or more comfortable, but because at a time when we cannot give economic opportunities, when we have to wait on economic affairs, that is the time to broaden all types of support, and above all, to remove the relics of the past, which irritate simple people. [sentence as heard] [applause] They say, how come those who spoiled things by 60 percent are there now, and mending things; they lived well and once again are living well; it is they who are helping companies and others and it is they who are getting in the way. In this context of missed opportunities, I spoke of acceleration, that acceleration was the greatest mistake which happened to all those who were deciding them; I did not join in then, I could not have joined in, because I would have been accused of once again awarding points, of once again wanting to profit from it.

Now another matter. After all this chamber, how many times has it been said that the RSW prasa monopoly, the economic monopoly, did not permit the growth of healthy principles, obstructed the construction of economic structures? But why in politics is a monopoly healthy, I'm asking? [applause]

That's the same principle. To government, the same principle in economics and in politics is obligatory. And

in my monopoly, of Walesa, of Solidarity, in the Citizens Committee so arranged would never allow healthy competition to arise [as heard]. We are capable of political pluralism. If we do not do that, our revolution cannot look otherwise than in Nicaragua, or even the first communist one; it cannot. That is why, naturally those crystal people who are on the political scene today, they will not commit any excesses. They forget that others are already lying in wait for their places, who will enter the system, a system which does not have blockages for unhealthy tendencies, ambitious, human, who speak about the human individual existing, when there is no good system; such always injure the cause.

In connection with this after our great victory, pluralism is imperative, necessary for the hygiene of the revolution, for a clash or views, for defense, as I cannot defend myself like a black man; I cannot defend myself as another nation; I cannot defend myself as an (?economist) as I do not have an economy, so I defend myself there, where it is possible.

I have not told you where my fanned and construed conflict with the prime minister has come from. The first thing (?we will pass over), that I was accused of having stolen the idea of local government elections. That is absolute rubbish, but things happened so stupidly, that I could have been accused of it. Now my great conflict with the prime minister, when I said I was ashamed of that government—but look at the context.

This was the fifth strike, the fifth—you were not even counting—the fifth strike in the shipyard. During the fourth strike, lined wheelbarrows were prepared for Walesa. During the fifth, they were no longer lined. I did not have control over affairs. I did not have control over the dissatisfaction in the shipyard, over the fact that this Lenin Shipyard was not and is not well treated by anyone, that the problem is not solved. I was whistled at, I was [word indistinct]. In order to rescue control, so that it would not slip away, I had to use something, I used the phrase, I am ashamed that up to today, the problems of this shipyard, of our heritage, have not been solved. What did I say? Was it really such a big thing? Did I not have to say this? This is where my description egg-heads came from, because, ladies and gentlemen, if we are fighting so finely, and I hear such falsifications, well, after all, a saint could not stand it. If I hear lies from (?Slupsk), take the tape, I read the definition exactly, it is a pity I reached for a book, it would have been better if I had not read books, well but I reached it, and this is how it is written there: Parliamentary democracy is nothing other than a battle of everyone against everyone, within the iron limits of the law. That's what I read. I return home; the press spokesman says Walesa has declared war on the government; the government will not go into battle with him. Oh my God! One does not need a better present. And this is dragging on and on, an axe, an axe, am I such a fool that I said that the president would sleep with an axe? I was talking about decisiveness, about precision, about honesty, and that was my axe, just as Japan was used as a metaphor, not that I want to (?use it) with batons, but as an opening to culture, an opening to solutions [applause]. I am waiting for other speakers. Please, your confessions, I am really asking for your general confessions and absolution, because only in this way can Poland understand us, and can we move forward. We have reached a point where ambition and misunderstanding dominate, and this, Mr. Turowicz, will cost us.

If we approach this in an honest way and understand one another, we will move forward with Poland. We will take a big leap. I believe this, and that is why I proposed such a model, and not long discussions, long lectures, that is not what we want. Are there any speakers here, because if there are not, then I will try the next subject. Please.

[Unidentified speaker] There is [word indistinct] one request to all the ladies and gentlemen journalists. Ladies and gentlemen, you are blocking Mr. Chairman, you are blocking the speakers. The members of the committee are here not only to hear but also to see. I would very much request you to move away. [applause] I ask all journalists to move away. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

[Walesa] [Word indistinct] that is my request, since up to now, there has been manipulation of information; since up to now, a disservice has been done to our revolution. There must be a press, it must tell the truth, it must (?see) Mr Turowicz, it must (?see) the grievances against Walesa, it must (?see) the grievances with regard to this revolution. [end recording]

Commentary on Walesa, PSL, SD Meeting

AU2506124990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jun 90 p 1

[Dariusz Fikus commentary: "Yellow Card"]

[Text] Lech Walesa's meeting with the leaders of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and Democratic Party [SD], has perturbed public opinion. We remember that a similar meeting last year initiated the complex political process that led to the opposition taking over power in Poland.

Are we seeing a new rearrangement, a new political contract between a section of the Citizens Parliamentary Club, the PSL, and the SD, or is it the beginning of next spring's election campaign? Walesa is yet again showing that he is very much active in the political game. Yesterday in GAZETA WYBORCZA he said: "I shall continue to play in this game whether they like it or not." No sensible person would seek to deny him the right to play in this game, and in the past his participation has been creative and at times a blessing. The important thing is that he should play by the rules and that fair play should be the winner. Fair play does not always win in the World Cup, and it is sometimes lacking in Walesa's play. The joint declaration with Roman Bartoszcze and Aleksander Mackiewicz is a case in point. If I were a soccer referee I would be raising the yellow card. The

150-word declaration does not contain a single word of support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. Furthermore, no concrete alternative to the government's program has been put forward. The declaration is just a list of complaints and claims. Additionally, these claims have been shrouded in a convoluted language. What can the statement that the difficult economic situation requires "immediate and radical actions" really mean? What actions?

Aleksander Mackiewicz, a member of the government, and one of the signatories of this document, does not explain why he is not implementing particularly radical actions in his own ministry, or for that matter, in his party. Nevertheless, he demands such actions from the government.

Lech Walesa has suggested that a change of policy toward the farming sector, as proposed by the PSL, should be a government priority. As is well known, the government is currently working on the agricultural program. Among other things, it has announced assistance and resources to save the milk industry. Yesterday we published an interview with Roman Bartosz cze in which he clearly expresses his lack of confidence in the government, but fails to put forward any sensible alternative program. Demands for protective duty barriers for agricultural produce and special rights for this sector of the economy cannot be considered a sensible program.

I see in all this a real danger of escalating the conflict of the city against the farm, which is now gathering like a storm cloud. A program of grabbing what can be grabbed for oneself, without bothering about anyone else, can be very dangerous. Currently, over 60 percent of the family income goes to buy food. Are we supposed to pay even more for our food?

In Poland we are engaged in an experiment of the utmost importance. It is an attempt to change the system by way of negotiation. However, our democratic infrastructure is frail and shallow. The creation of a civic society requires time. We are all burdened by the communist legacy. Democracy has to be learned in school, in the family, and in parliament. For over 40 years we did not have the necessary conditions for democratic thinking. Democracy has to be based on rules; however, one is hearing less and less about these principles. We are increasingly hearing calls that we must resort to strong-arm rule. This is the surest way of compromising the democratic idea. Tired people will willingly accept a strong-arm government. The catch is that the simple prescriptions, although they have their lure, show themselves to be ineffective in the long run. The chorus that promises us deliverance that we are now hearing from all sides is nothing less than populist radicalism. On the one hand, we have suggestions of system guarantees for developing pluralism, and on the other, suggestions of "a strong president with an axe; one who is decisive, harsh, and frank; one who does not fool around and interfere with democracy, but who immediately fills the loopholes." This is a threat, as well as being dangerous. People will then expect that everything will go smoothly, and by changing the system the store shelves will become full and their own wallets fat. The store shelves are full, but the wallets are empty. Thus, there is the alluring temptation that if we resort to an authoritarian system it might possibly prove to be the shorter road. This is a great illusion. With all the difficulties of our everyday life, all the mistakes and even errors that we should not feel ashamed of, sooner or later, Poland is destined for democracy. It will be a national disaster if we abandon this road.

Democratic Party Chairman on 'Ineffective' Reforms

AU2506163890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Democratic Party Chairman Aleksander Mackiewicz by Maciej Urbaniak; place and date not given: "Warning Mechanisms"]

[Text] [Urbaniak] The PAP communique on Tuesday's [19 June] meeting in Gdansk is phrased, one could say, somewhat enigmatically. I want to ask you to give some content to the generalizations contained in the communique. What is meant by immediate and radical actions? Action with whom, against whom?

[Mackiewicz] I would not put it that way; namely, with whom and against whom. It is simply against the inertia that surrounds us. It is mainly a matter of the rather ineffective economic reforms. Time is pressing. We ought to be concentrating on the economic legislation package. Each must be implemented one after the other. The work on privatisation law is dragging indefinitely.

[Urbaniak] Is your complaint against the Sejm?

[Mackiewicz] I am not blaming anyone. I think we must all continue to work efficiently.

[Urbaniak] Who do you mean by we must all?

[Mackiewicz] Everyone who is in power and all those who support this power.

[Urbaniak] The communique says nothing about support for the government.

[Mackiewicz] The coalition formed this government. The communique clearly states that we, the leaders of the forces who created this coalition, are worried by the time it is taking to implement these reforms. We are not saying that it is solely the government's fault.

We must support the government. The parliament must pass the necessary laws, but the government has to be strengthened by allowing public opinion to be heard. This will enable the government to correct its decisions. Sometimes these decisions are wrong. There are no infallible governments. The mention of communication is not in the communique by pure chance.

[Urbaniak] Exactly who has monopolized the mass media?

[Mackiewicz] I am referring to the television which is the "hottest" medium. It should carry information on feelings prevailing in society.

[Urbaniak] And is it not doing so?

[Mackiewicz] There are those who say it is not. We must secure television's relative independence in its programs. Letting the Sejm and not the government have supervision of the television network is an old SD [Democratic Party] postulate. Room must also be found in the information policy of the network to present the view of influential political groups, interest groups, and the government. This is obvious. We need current affairs programs such as "Open Studio," but somewhat different. We have to hear other experts' views, and we have such people in Poland. At present, I have a feeling that all the experts are biased.

[Urbaniak] The communique states that there is a tendency to monopolize the media, and what is worse, a tendency to monopolize the Polish political stage. Who is doing it?

[Mackiewicz] The forces participating in the coalition have the feeling that they are being pushed onto the sidelines. They do not have the appropriate means to counteract this trend. The results of the local elections clearly show the direction of the danger. Votes were not cast for people, but for blocs.

[Urbaniak] So we have established that this monopolization is happening at the cost of the PSL [Polish Peasant Party], and the SD, but we still do not know who is the monopolist.

[Mackiewicz] It is not just at our cost. It also hits the small parties. There are also many other political forces under the "Solidarity" banner, and they, too, must have the chance to come out into the open.

[Urbaniak] If I have understood you correctly, you mean the Citizens Committees. But surely these committees are very different. Some have rightist leanings—for example, at the Lodz meeting—while others have joined the Center Accord. Some sympathize with the direction set out by Krakow. Where is the monopoly?

[Mackiewicz] The process of division will continue to evolve. I hope that it will lead to the emergence of real political forces before the next Sejm elections. At present, it is otherwise.

[Urbaniak] Is this part of the communique intended to be an agent for accelerating divisions in the citizens movement?

[Mackiewicz] I would not put it that way. We in the SD do not want, nor have any right or means to influence what is happening there. This was not why we met in Gdansk. We met in order to show our desire to continue our cooperation and appraise the last 12 months. We intend to continue our meetings. We are not interested in spectacular gestures, although that is how it may look to some people who are professionally interested in politics.

In the past the SD fought for many of the things which have now become very important. Not with weapons, but with determination. We managed to keep the private sector alive, and today we want to develop it, alongside the necessary institutions of a democratic state. Our program is intended to serve this purpose, not hinder it, or to pose threats.

[Urbaniak] You are a member of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government....

[Mackiewicz] I have a place there for as long as this government continues to implement all that has been written into the program of the party. The SD is part of the coalition. I am a government minister and will try to support this order for our mutual benefit. If my party decides that the government's program, or its implementation, is negative, I shall resign. At the moment this is unlikely. Although one has to admit that corrections to the program are necessary and the political forces in the government should have a say in what is to be done.

[Urbaniak] Summing up, the meeting was not aimed at the Mazowiecki government, but it was intended to influence the government to adjust its program....

[Mackiewicz] The meeting was not aimed at the government. We intended to remind everybody that a political coalition exists and the leaders of the coalition forces have the feeling that certain processes are not progressing as they should be. It is good that we have these warning mechanisms. This is a positive element of this meeting.

Solidarity Warns of 'Risky' Price Rises

LD2506180690 Warsaw PAP in English 1709 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 25—Representatives of the Polish Government and Solidarity trade union held a meeting today presided over by Minister Jacek Kuron and union's vice-chairman Lech Kaczynski.

Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz briefed the meeting on the planning changes in the state budget intended to finance regional budgets, economy, housing and dairy industry.

They also spoke about the planned increase of energy and gas prices. The cabinet officials said that, apart from the growth of flat rents, the government did not plan any other rises of official prices.

The Solidarity side opined that such price operation was an extremely risky move under the current circumstances.

Center Accord Statement on Local Self-Government

AU2606100090 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 22 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Statement—After the Local Elections"]

[Text] The present time is a period during which various political programs are in the stage of maturation, a time for creating a multiparty political system. In this crucial period, society, rebuilding its state, has found a form of self-organization in the shape of the Citizens Committees, which form an important part of the broad and diverse "Solidarity" movement. Their autonomous and nonparty character, the absence of any organizational and ideological constraints, augurs well and in the future should augur well for a discussion of the concepts and permutations for the development of local communities, for the good of the country. Being a natural buttress for local self-government and faced by the need to organize the lowest territorial entities (villages [osiedla] and village administrations [solectwa]), the Citizens Committees can be an important element in the reconstruction of the authentic self-government of the residents. However, there are serious misgivings that local self-government will not be able to meet reawakened social expectations because the legislative solutions, which of necessity were rushed through in some haste, could, in practice, limit their powers of action.

In accordance with this we consider that:

1. The creation of a strong local self-government in Poland, equipped with appropriate powers and financial means, should be an important element in a thorough reconstruction of state structures. We declare ourselves in favor of the creation of a two-tier local self-government structure which would gradually assume many tasks presently carried out by the state administration. The first step should be the introduction of legal regulations on the system of local self-government for large cities and conurbations.

We must seize the existing possibility to create a nationwide association of townships, and, for the future, consider the question of creating a national union of townships, which would become the local self-government partner of parliament and government.

2. The current legislative solutions that divide the powers and tasks of local self-government bodies from the central government administration give rise to misgivings. There is a danger that local self-government will be made too dependent on government administration by disturbing the balance between the two, and, because of this, there will be a return to the methods of administrating the state centrally.

The powers of administrative regions and central ministries make deep inroads into the domain of the township's own tasks, which are set out in the law on local self-government. We have to introduce amendments that will give self-government bodies a legal guarantee of gradually taking over those tasks that are currently the domain of central government administration (such as primary education, or the transfer of ownership in state property that is essential for the township to carry out its tasks).

3. An appropriate system of financial management for local self- government must be introduced as soon as possible. Their revenues should cover a minimum of 60 to 70 percent of the expenditure incurred in carrying out their tasks. Local taxes (for example tax on real property) should form a source of township revenue in their entirety. Self-government bodies ought to have the right to set the level of these taxes (authority to tax), and it is also essential for townships to be accorded a small share of taxes such as personal income tax and turnover and income taxes that derive from economic activity. This would ensure the necessary link between the township's financial policy and the development of economic activity.

Recognizing the requirements of this "transition period," we must strive to gradually and calmly build and strengthen the local self- government system as a lasting foundation of the state structure and support activities which aim at making local self-government a fully effective representative of local communities.

Center Accord, Warsaw, 12 June 1990.

Daily Berates Center Accord's Radicalization Call

AU2506115090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 20 Jun 90 p 3

["PIL"-signed commentary]

[Text] Lech Walesa, who is calling for acceleration, is himself accelerating his activities. After an unsuccessful attempt to eliminate the pro-government wing of "Solidarity," he is now seeking support for his actions among his nominal coalition partners, the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Party [SD]. He thinks this support can be guaranteed by means of a joint communique. If such support were indeed to come about, then, according to a radical scenario of the development of events, the Sejm, by means of a majority of votes by Citizens Parliamentary Club deputies, who are close to Walesa, as well as PSL and SD deputies, could carry through a vote of no confidence for the Mazowiecki government.

The communique repeats the theory about radical solutions implemented by the government. But that is just a generalization that we keep hearing from the lips of Center Accord members. There is no answer to the question: Exactly what kind of solutions are meant? This is all the more conspicuous because society is rather dissatisfied with the already radical and even brutal economic policy of the government. Therefore, would any further sharpening of the course improve society's moods?

If a new government were formed before the parliamentary elections, I suspect that any "radical" changes would depend on compromise solutions boiling down to considerably greater state interventionism. One reason for this would be to improve the profitability of agricultural output and the conditions that govern small-scale production. It would also be necessary to "give" something to employees in the state sector.

As a result of all this, Leszek Balcerowicz's program would lie in ruins. I do not know if such an eventuality would accelerate our emergence from the bottom, but I think that after so many attempts at implementing reform, someone should be given a chance at last.

I do not want to relate to the communique in purely negative terms. What it says about the need to create institutional guarantees for the development of pluralism and the biased nature of television is worthy of support, albeit rather odd when one realizes who wrote this.

In recent weeks there has been talk of another political struggle. The Gdansk meeting takes us nearer such a struggle, rather than further away.

Michnik Praises Policy, Criticizes Walesa

AU2606083190 Vienna PROFIL in German 25 Jun 90 pp 46-47

[Interview with Adam Michnik, chief editor of GAZETA WYBORCZA, who is visiting Vienna "this week," by Jacek Kubiak and Ernst Schmiederer in Warsaw; date not given: "Walesa Destabilizing the Situation"]

[Text] [PROFIL] You wrote last summer that the new government needs "quick and spectacular successes." Are you satisfied with the Mazowiecki government?

[Michnik] It has achieved huge successes. Poland is a free country today which decides its domestic and foreign policies here in Warsaw. The citizens do not feel threatened by the police anymore. Censorship has been abolished. I never thought that I would live to see all this myself. In addition, there are the changes that have been carried out in the economy. Inflation has decreased. For the first time in my life, the Poles are getting real convertible money.

[PROFIL] The people apparently have a different point of view. According to the opinion polls published in your newspaper, only 45 percent of the Poles believe that they have to put up with the current difficulties so things will improve in the future.

[Michnik] Under General Jaruzelski, only two percent held this view.

[PROFIL] We cannot sweep their dissatisfaction under the rug just like that: Railroad workers are on strike, and discontented farmers have blocked the roads.

[Michnik] Of course, there is a certain potential for dissatisfaction. It would be surprising if there were not. However, what I think is conspicuous is the fact that there are so few strikes.

[PROFIL] Lech Walesa does not share your view. He says that the Mazowiecki government is too hesitant, too slow, and too cowardly. He favors a presidential office that would have the most far-reaching powers possible. He says that the country needs to have "a president with an axe in his hand."

[Michnik] I do not think that things are going too slowly. This reproach is absurd. Walesa's belief that the political situation could be improved by a new president being installed is wrong. With his woodcutter's language he is destabilizing the situation in Poland.

[PROFIL] But not by his deeds. After all, he helped to end the railroad workers' strike. Time and again he manages to calm down the dissatisfied people in the country.

[Michnik] That is one interpretation. However, I also consider a different interpretation to be admissible. The farmers' road blockade would also have ended without him. By visiting these farmers, he made a form of protest acceptable again that should belong to the past.

[PROFIL] Have the farmers overdone it?

[Michnik] I would not say that they have no reason to be discontented. However, there are other forms of protest permitted by the law, such as rallies, demonstrations, or signature campaigns. If they do not like the trade unions or the parties anymore, they can found new ones. However, anyone blocking a road will come into conflict with the state. Show me a government that would accept that. The state must maintain order, the state must guarantee the freedom to drive on Polish roads.

[PROFIL] It is strange that the Solidarity movement emerged from its underground existence barely a year ago, and already you are unable to feel with those who are discontented.

[Michnik] Oh yes, I am able to feel with them. However, before I do so, it must be guaranteed that the state continues to function.

[PROFIL] There are similar protests in Western democracies time and again ....

[Michnik] .... and then police or military forces intervene to guarantee the functioning of the state.

[PROFIL] Would it be acceptable for you if the protests had been ended by force?

[Michnik] That is a demagogic question. If 15 homeless people squatted in your house because you work for the bourgeois weekly PROFIL, would you not defend yourself?

[PROFIL] That is at least equally demagogic.

[Michnik] The question simply is what laws are violated under which circumstances. I have violated laws often enough. However, I cannot be surprised when the police take action. In Poland we are trying to set up a state ruled by the law.

[PROFIL] You have been chief editor of GAZETA WYBORCZA for a year now. You have published opinion polls time and again which show that the Poles prefer a President Mazowiecki to a President Walesa. Walesa said recently that you should be ousted. Was that his revenge?

[Michnik] I do not know what made him say this. I only know that in this case, the capitalist system defeated communism; the market was stronger than central planning.

[PROFIL] GAZETA WYBORCZA is owned by the private company, Agora. Who are the company's shareholders?

[Michnik] In the beginning, the company consisted of the filmmaker Andrzey Wajda, the former Warsaw Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak, and Aleksandar Paszynski, who is now construction minister. Now all those who were members of the staff from the beginning can hold shares in Agora.

[PROFIL] Would foreign capital be admitted?

[Michnik] That cannot be ruled out.

[PROFIL] Are negotiations being held?

[Michnik] It is too early to discuss that.

[PROFIL] Could you conceive of the paper eventually appearing with the symbol of Solidarity and the money of the Axel Springer Publishing House?

[Michnik] No.

[PROFIL] Where would you see an ideological limit to such participation?

[Michnik] I would say: LIBERATION yes; Springer no.

[PROFIL] Is GAZETA WYBORCZA the organ of a certain current within Solidarity?

[Michnik] No. We are the editors' organ and as such a fragment of the broad Solidarity citizens' movement.

[PROFIL] However, this movement is no longer so united as it was in its beginnings. Recently, Walesa even intended to forbid GAZETA to continue to use the Solidarity logo.

[Michnik] That would be a mistake. For all its defects, this newspaper is a strong trump card of the movement. It is now the most important daily in Poland. Taking away the Solidarity logo would mean giving away this trump card.

[PROFIL] The conflict within Solidarity is not confined to GAZETA WYBORCZA and Walesa. Different groups have already developed, such as the "'Center' Accord," which consists of Walesa supporters. Do you think that this could be the precursor of a party?

[Michnik] That is hard to say because this group is only important together with Walesa. Without him, it will probably not become a party.

[PROFIL] There are many indications that Solidarity will be split. In addition to the "'Center' Accord," a "Krakow Group" has now also been formed within Solidarity. That surely spells the end of the dream about unity, does it not?

[Michnik] Maybe, perhaps unity is just a dream now. However, it is hard to give up dreams. The grass roots urgently want to achieve and maintain unity. These people are like children whose parents are seeking a divorce. However, the quarrel within the leadership seems to suggest that a split is inevitable.

[PROFIL] Will there then be a left wing to which you would belong, and a catholic right wing surrounding Lech Walesa?

[Michnik] No, these terms are outdated. Left and right—that does not exist anymore in Poland. The split will be carried out along new lines. One the one hand, there are two different cultures—a culture with a European orientation, and a nationally oriented culture. The second line will then be the quarrel about the market. We all want to have a market economy; however, there are different views on the nature of this market, at what pace it should be introduced, and what type of social policy should accompany its introduction. The third line is the problem of Poland's future form of government: Do we want to have a parliamentary democracy, or do we prefer an authoritarian presidency?

[PROFIL] In the past, Solidarity was a broad mass movement; now most Poles seem to have hardly any interest in such type of politics. Is it part of human nature that the people withdraw into private life before politics totally eats up their life?

[Michnik] Probably that plays also a certain role. Sometimes I also wish I could do something else.

[PROFIL] At least in this respect, you have something in common with Walesa. He said recently that he would prefer to go fishing.

[Michnik] I would not go fishing; I would prefer to write or read books.

[PROFIL] Another political phenomenon of our time is the revival of the right. The Polish church is apparently also orienting itself toward the right.

[Michnik] The church has not yet found its place in our new democracy; it has not yet learned to live in a pluralist society.

[PROFIL] Are you referring to the bishops' demand that religious instruction must be made mandatory at schools again—a demand that is even quite controversial among active Catholics?

[Michnik] That is an example. It is simply unreasonable to unleash such a conflict in Poland today. To this day, Primas Glemp has not dissociated himself from Professor Marciej Giertych. Giertych publishes a newspaper which is frankly chauvinist, xenophobe, and anti-Semitic. However, at the same time, the professor is deputy chairman of the social council, the group of advisers of Primas Glemp. I hope that does not mean that this rightist will in the future have Glemp's support. I also think it is very alarming that whereas the bishops criticize pornography in television, they have not said a word against anti-Semitic documents being distributed in front of their churches.

[PROFIL] The upcoming German reunification has revived old fears among many Poles. The pragmatists consider it above all as putting an end to Yalta.

[Michnik] Undoubtedly I belong to the second group. Even though I realize that new problems could be created for Europe, I would not deny the German nation's right of self-determination for this reason. Only an idiot would do that.

[PROFIL] The changes in recent months have considerably encouraged the German minority in Silesia.

[Michnik] Yes, good God. You cannot agree with the activities of the Polish minority in Belorussia or the Ukraine, on the one hand, and deplore the fact that the Germans are moving in Silesia, on the other.

[PROFIL] The nationalities conflicts that were suppressed by the communists are now gradually emerging again.

[Michnik] I consider these conflicts the greatest danger to democracy and Europe. Grillparzer said that the road leads from humanism via nationalism to bestiality. I am concerned that certain groups in our part of Europe intend to embark on this road. They are weak. However, democracy is also weak.

[PROFIL] Looking back to the past year, do you see your ideals for which you were imprisoned time and again over the years, fulfilled?

[Michnik] Ideals will never materialize.

[PROFIL] What would Europe have to be like for you to say that this is what you fought for?

[Michnik] Different.

Role of Citizens Committees Discussed

PM2606091290 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 19 Jun 90 pp 1-2

[Zbigniew Gorniak report on remarks by Kazimierz Kobialko, chairman of the Opole Silesia Citizens Movement Association; place and date not given]

[Text] The national conference of representatives of Citizens Committees was a result of the preelection meeting that took place 29 April this year. Each voivodship sent three delegates selected and authorized as official representatives by individual Citizens Committees. The debates included a discussion on the movement's future, the general consensus being that there is no doubt that it ought to continue. An attempt was made to answer the question whether there is a need for a national structure, that is, a corporate body which would serve as a forum for all committees. Most of those present voted for a federation, provided that the committees' autonomy is unchallenged. Joint actions within the federation would have to be authorized by each committee's separately granting its approval. No form of central decisionmaking or any bureaucratic formula would be permitted under any circumstances, since that would kill the movement.

I do not think that there is much chance of the movement's developing into a political party. We must remember that in our case the objective is to rally as partisans around certain values rather than ideologies, personalities, or institutions.

This explains why, since we take this perspective, many conference participants regarded the conflict between Walesa and Mazowiecki as somewhat exotic. Attempts to make us take sides and declare ourselves in favor of one or the other side are senseless, since the movement has set itself long-term goals, which will still apply after Mazowiecki's or indeed his successors' term of office. Let me reiterate: It is values rather than personalities that unite us.

At the present time the citizens movement must begin to retreat from areas which it occupied on the understanding that it was "instead of" other structures or "until" other structures take over. But it is far harder to retreat from an occupied territory than to storm and win it, so there may be some dangerous tendencies developing. For instance, how do we explain the position of a man who, to begin with, claims that he is organizing self-government elections in good faith because he wants local government to succeed, but later, after the elections, maintains that it is still too early for local government to make their own decisions? There is an inconsistency, a dichotomy here somewhere....

The desire to give the movement a nonsubordinate status is clearly noticeable throughout its ranks, and this is why we cannot exclude the possibility that it will embark on parliamentary elections with its own electoral list and its own program.

With regard to relations between Solidarity and Citizens Committees, these vary from one region to another. Basically, the committees do not deny that they share the same ethos with Solidarity, although there are differences. I consider this a healthy phenomenon, because it brings with itself a forecast of what will develop here in Poland in another five, or perhaps seven, years. I believe this phenomenon will consist in regionalization, interpreted in the purest sense of the word.

The most important tasks for the movement are to support state democratic structures and to create political elites.

There can be no question of the movement's exercising any form of control or supervision over self-government structures. Public monitoring is acceptable; control and supervision are not. Sporadic instances of the latter may occur here and there, but, luckily, we are aware of the danger and will take good care to eliminate it.

Within the next fortnight we will organize a voivodship conference of citizens movements, during which the question of federalization will be discussed. In Opole voivodship this will almost certainly be convened June 30. A national conference with Mazowiecki and Walesa will take place the following day.

Debate at Walbrzych SdRP Congress Reported

PM2506152890 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 18 Jun 90 p 3

["D.T."-signed article: "First SdRP Voivodship Congress in Walbrzych: To Propose Better Solutions"]

[Text] Last Saturday the Walbrzych voivodship organization of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] convened its first congress on the premises of the Chief Technical Organization [NOT] club at the Thorez colliery in Walbrzych. There were 145 delegates taking part in the congress debates. In addition, the organizers welcomed guests of the congress, who were invited there as observers.

In his opening speech, Leslaw Lysiak, chairman of the SdRP Walbrzych Voivodship Organization Group, stressed that the voivodship congress ended the interim period in the life of the Walbrzych voivodship's social democrats. Party structures had been set up and currently comprise nearly 800 members.

Thorez colliery representative Boguslaw Dyszkiewicz spoke of the need to represent the interests of the mining community in the process of restructuring the mining industry in the region. As things stood, the media were the miners' chief source of information about the planned liquidation of a number of collieries. The speaker asked whether an official decision had already been made on this issue.

In the ensuing debate, the voice of Janusz Gasiorowski, chairman of Walbrzych Solidarity Citizens' Committee, merited special attention. "I believe," he said, "that we are all united in our dreams of a free, prosperous, and democratic Poland. Democracy and pluralism are the only methods of releasing society's energy resources and monitoring the authorities' activities. Such a Poland must accommodate socialist and social democratic parties capable of counterbalancing the ruthless ideology based on the power of money in all areas of human life with the principle of social justice. The SdRP should speak out honestly, resolutely, and out loud, pointing to the dangers which threaten society."

In an address devoted to the tasks facing the SdRP, Leszek Miller stressed, among other things, that the SdRP should not only criticize, but also propose better solutions to economic, social, and other problems. Recent elections demonstrated that no single force in the country represents the interests of all Poles. This finding is a lesson in humility and an encouragement to begin a dialogue.

The new SdRP voivodship leadership was elected in a secret ballot. The post of Voivodship Council chairman was entrusted to 40-year-old Ryszard Krawczyk, chairman of the Swidnica SdRP organization and Polish Scout Union [ZHP] activist.

OPZZ Resolution on Planned Price Hikes

LD2206011690 Warsaw PAP in English 2044 GMT 21 Jun 90

["OPZZ Resolution of Planned Price Hikes (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—Following are excerpts of a resolution of the council of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] All-Poland Trade Union Alliance on planned government price hikes:

We think that the government should revise its decisions which result in the further significant growth of living costs and to forego the implementation of the decision on official price hikes. The numerical manipulations which are designed to prove an alleged full compensation for the effects of price hikes which we treat as departing from the factual state, will not fill up the emptied family budgets.

We expect the government to take immediate action aimed at really stopping the fall in real incomes, to revive production, limit unemployment and effectively protect those who are out of work.

We do not want, once again, to be forced to demand the resignation of the government team. Nonetheless, determined by the development of the situation and in the face of decisions which push increasingly broad layers of society to poverty and destitution, we shall not back away from demanding just that.

Polish Green Party Supports Walesa for President

LD2506221690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] The Polish Green Party, PPZ, has declared itself in favor of the candidature of Lech Walesa for the post of president. This would in the opinion of the PPZ, enable parliament to be dissolved, the declaration of new elections, and the selection of the next president of the Polish Republic.

Wroclaw Demonstration Demands Soviet Pullout

LD2606100890 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] The Confederation of Independent Poland organized a demonstration in the Wroclaw city center yesterday afternoon. The participants demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. They also collected signatures under a petition to the government demanding immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union on the issue.

'Concern' Expressed to USSR Over Tomb Plans

LD2206005990 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—Deputy Director of the Foreign Ministry's European Department Kostrzewa-Zorbas today received counsellor of the Soviet Embassy here Polyakov and asked him to explain whether a report of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Journal was true that there were plans to destroy alleged tombs of Polish officers and civilians near Lugansk in the Ukraine.

The report aroused concern in Poland and its confirmation would force Polish authorities to lodge a protest.

USSR Admiral on Swinoujscie Naval Base

LD2306222790 Warsaw PAP in English 1716 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Szczecin, June 23—Apart from Swinoujscie (about which we make no secret), there is no other base of the Soviet Navy on Poland's entire Baltic coast, Soviet rear-admiral Yevgeniy Chibanov told a press conference here.

The Soviet unit in Swinoujscie is not a classical military base, said the Soviet rear-admiral answering questions of Polish journalists during a conference held aboard one of the two Soviet ships that visited Szczecin to mark the 1990 days of the sea. Only a brigade of the Soviet Baltic Navy, made up of several warships, stations in this city.

An official ceremony of bidding farewell to the warships, that had moored in the Odra river in Szczecin from June 2 to 23, was held today.

PAP: Soviets Had Katyn Documents Since Jun '89

LD2206054190 Warsaw PAP in English 1932 GMT 21 Jun 90

[By PAP Correspondent Jerzy Malczyk]

[Text] Moscow, June 21—The "VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL", a monthly published by the Soviet Ministry of Defence, confirmed what has been unofficially said in Moscow for months, namely that the Soviet leadership has been in possession of documents about the murder of Polish officers by the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] during World War 2 since June, last year.

The monthly published another batch of archive materials unmasking the crime committed by the NKVD on prisoners from Kozielsk, Starobyelsk and Ostashkov. Yuri Zorya, a historian specializing in the Nuremberg trial, had found them in Soviet special archives.

As early as June 1989 we found and next analyzed files concerning Polish citizens who had been held in the camps in Starobyelsk, Kozielsk and Ostashkov at the end of 1939 and the first half of 1940, writes the Soviet historian, adding: The materials which were found unequivocally showed the NKVD to be responsible for the execution of about 15 thousand Polish citizens in March-May 1940.

Taking into account the importance of the found documents, I informed Professor G. Smirnov, the chairman of the Polish-Soviet Commission of Historians about them on June 19, 1989. He in turn immediately informed the foreign department of the CPSU CC about the talk with me, Zorya writes in the monthly.

The fact that Polish citizens were executed by the NKVD is one of the elements of the policy of reprisals pursued in the Soviet Union in the prewar period not only against its citizens but the citizens of other states as well. Hence, there was a need for a special commission of the CPSU CC Political Bureau to review the documents relating to Polish citizens.

The presented conclusions gained support and with the assistance of the Foreign Department of the CPSU CC, the research and generalizing work was continued, Zorya reveals.

Science Council Demands Access to Soviet Archives

LD2306025290 Warsaw PAP in English 2101 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—Polish society has been deeply moved by reports on the findings of new mass graves of Polish officers imprisoned in camps in Ostashkov and Starobyelsk in the Soviet Union and on the "rehabilitation" of sixteen leaders of the Polish underground state, instead of recognizing the groundless character of their

arrest by the NVKD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] and the illegality of the trial, states a communique issued by the Science Council of the Institute of National Remembrance here today.

Reports being published successively in the USSR reveal fragmentary information on NVKD's crimes committed against Polish citizens during World War Two and during the post-war period clearly tend to minimize the real dimension of those crimes, reads the statement.

In light of this, the Science Council turns to the Polish Government to undertake efforts to achieve the full elucidation of the fate of Polish citizens and Poles in the USSR. It is especially important to obtain official condemnation of lawlessness applied towards Poland aimed to deprive Poles of independence and sovereign statehood, the opening of Soviet archives dealing with the fate of Poles in the Soviet Union to researchers and institutions dealing with the investigation of genocide and to achieve a moral, political, legal and financial compensation for victims of Stalinist crimes and their families.

PAP Roundup of Sejm Session 21 Jun

LD2206014890 Warsaw PAP in English 2226 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—On behalf of the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] floor group Deputy Jozef Zych opposed the suggestion of the Sejm Presidium to elect the 1st president of the Supreme Council at the Sejm meeting today. (Professor Adam Strzembosz is the candidate for the post). Although he personally regards the candidacy as adequate (the candidacy was motioned by the president), Zych said that in his opinion it should have been earlier consulted in parliamentary caucuses.

Bronislaw Geremek (OKP) [Citizens parliamentary Club] engaged in polemics with Zych and said that the post is a non-party one, whose function is the protection of the interests of the state and the nation. "Let us try to think above group interests." (the phrase met with reactions in PSL benches). Nevertheless, Geremek supported Zychs motion. The chamber approved it.

The sejm also approved the motion of Jan Beszta-Borowski that the government explain the use of law-enforcement units "in talks with farmers in Mlawa after the first and before the second visit of Lech Walesa there." PAP learned that the government explanation will be [passage indistinct].

At today's meeting of Citizens' Parliamentary Caucus, Deputy Andrzej Kern suggested that in the social interest, OKP should meet with Lech Walesa and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Members of presidia of the Citizens' Parliamentary Causus, DP [Democratic Party] and PSL met here today.

The Sejm passed the law (whose draft was moved by the Senate) on reclaiming undue profits gained at the cost of the state treasury or other state legal persons.

The Sejm passed also some other laws: On amendment of some laws concerning territorial self-government, on dissolution of the Academy of Social Sciences, on the cancellation of the law of 1986 on the principles of youth's participation in the state, social, economic and cultural life of the country.

In the evening, the Sejm started the first reading of three maritime bills. The main point is to adjust Polish regulations to internaitonal law. According to the draft, 70 million dollars will be the ceilling sum of damages which can be claimed for in case of pollution of the sea by ships. The fine for catching fish without respective permission will total up to 500,000 dollars.

During its today's debates the Senate focused mainly on the law on political parties passed by the Sejm on May 24. The Senate criticised the law and suggested amendments which alter nearly all articles of the law. The debate will be continued tomorrow.

Labor Minister on Use of Force Against Farmers

LD2306020490 Warsaw PAP in English 1908 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—Minister of Labour Jacek Kuron, commenting on critical statements expressed by some deputies concerning steps undertaken by the government in dealing with the blockade of roads around the city of Mlawa, said today in the Sejm debate (excerpts):

One cannot be a member of the Sejm and support social order and at the same time speak against that order. The weal of the state should prevail over deputy's or ministerial career, unless one decides in his own conscience that he should step out of this country, said Kuron during a Sejm meeting today.

Deputies, chiefly affiliated in the Polish Peasant Party PSL, expressed their regret over the fact that not all possibilities were taken advantage of in order to avert developments which have so upset farmers.

The fact that Polish dairy processing is in a difficult situation was well known and discussed for quite some time now. Mlawa became the latest signal of that, said one of the deputies taking part in an almost two-hour dramatic and heated discussion which covered not only the Mlawa incident.

Minister Kuron, authorized by Premier Mazowiecki, presented to the Chamber the circumstances and reasons behind the Council of Ministers's decision to use police force. Kuron said that blocking a road is an act against public and social interests, an action which in no way can be tolerated by he government. Conflicts are inseparable from democracy and the problem here is to solve them without the use of force. From that point of view, the use

of force by the government was evil, but necessary evil in view of another evil, the blocking of the roads.

Roundup of Sejm, Senate Sessions 22 Jun

LD2306042190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] A two-day meeting of the Sejm has ended. Minister Jacek Kuron, in a confrontation with deputies, defended the government's decision to use force to solve the conflict in Mlawa. A suggestion was put forward that the government create a special commission and, with the participation of deputies, present an explanation to the Sejm of all the misunderstandings against the background of the Mlawa events.

The deputies today discussed the government draft maritime laws, a change of the electoral law to the present Sejm, a draft law on creating appeal courts, and a draft law on passports. At the end of the two-day session, the Senate accepted a statement on the commemoration of workers' protests in June 1976. The Upper Chamber of the Polish Parliament, having made amendments to the Political Parties Law, sent it to the Sejm.

Sejm Rejects Draft Law on Elections

LD2306042390 Warsaw PAP in English 1551 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—The Sejm rejected a draft law amending regulations to elect the Sejm. The draft concerned possible by-elections in the present term of office and envisaged free elections to every mandate.

However, the house did not find it necessary to introduce provisional changes to the existing electoral regulations.

Council of Ministers Decree on Interest Payments

LD2606090590 Warsaw PAP in English 0804 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 26—The government held a meeting into late last night, adopting a decree under which interest on over-due credit repayment would total 60 percent annually as of July 1, 1990.

The government also adopted a draft law under which the heads of state offices would be able to dismiss employees in key offices (with a 3-month period of notice). The law is to be binding 6 months from the date of its enactment.

Wrapping up the meeting, the Council of Ministers adopted a decree regulating the principles governing public bids for the sale of the fixed assets of state enterprises. The decree sets no limits but makes a reservation that the workers council of a given enterprise must agree to such a bid.

German Envoys Notify Official of Border Decision

LD2306022890 Warsaw PAP in English 2051 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski received here today Ambassadors of the FRG Guenter Knackstedt and the GDR Juergen Van Zwoll who notified the Polish Government on the adoption by the Bundestag and the People's Chamber of the GDR last Thursday of identical resolutions concerning Polish-German border.

The memoranda state that the passed resolutions express also the political will of the governments of the FRG and the GDR.

Minister Skubiszewski stressed that the resolutions of parliaments of the two German states were positively assessed by Poland's Government. They create a favourable political atmosphere for concluding a treaty between the united Germany and Poland which would confirm the international-legal character of the Polish German border in its present shape. Such a treaty will be signed and ratified immediately after the unification of Germany.

Minister Skubiszewski announced that the Polish Government would answer the memoranda.

Agreement on Restructuring Debt With FRG

LD2206210490 Warsaw PAP in English 1829 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—A Polish-West-German agreement on restructuring Polish debt to West Germany was initialled here today, PAP journalist learns.

The agreement concerns the sum of about 3 billion West German marks and covers all Polish payment obligations till March 31, 1991 stemming from the claims of West German exporters and banks guaranteed by the West German government and the earlier bilateral agreements restructuring debts. Poland was given the period of 14 years to repay these sums in instalments.

West Germany puts now Poland's entire hard currency debt at 41 billion dollars, out of which about 28 billion dollars fall on creditor countries of the Paris Club and West Germany is the greatest creditor among them. One should stress that also the first round of talks on changing or annulling Polish payment obligations from the 1-billion-West-German-Mark (jumbo) credit granted in 1975 ended.

Balcerowicz Address to CDU Council in Bonn

LD2206005790 Warsaw PAP in English 1909 GMT 21 Jun 90

["Leszek Balcerowicz's Address to CDU Economic Council (main points)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Bonn, June 21—Poland is fit to play an important role in the economic landscape of a future Europe. Today, it is the only country situated on the Eastern rim of Central Europe which is not only considering and thinking about taking firm steps aimed at introducing a market economy but has been taking them with much force for the past six months. The convertibility of the (Polish) currency was introduced literally overnight. The exchange rate of the Polish currency has been stabilized and the differences between the free market and official exchange rates have completely disappeared.

—Significant success has been achieved in combating inflation. The monthly inflation rate, which amounted to some 39 per cent in the second half of 1989 and even 79 per cent last January, dropped to 3 per cent in June. According to forecasts of the Finance Ministry prices will go up from 1 to 2 per cent in August.

—Significant progress has been also achieved in foreign trade with Western states. Polish exports in the first five months (of the year) amounted to 3.8 billion dollars and exceeded last year's level by 12 per cent. The foreign trade surplus amounted to 1.6 billion dollars.

—Direct foreign investment has also grown and is bigger than investment in the processing industry. Legal regulations that have been binding since the beginning of the year make it possible for foreign banks to be based in Poland.

—Poland is on her way back to Europe which is characterized by market economy. Cooperation with Western partners, including a united Germany, can and should make this way significantly shorter. Poland has already complied with the requirements of economic restructuring. But it expects, and has every right to do so, that the West and the Federal Republic will be faithful to the principles of a free trade and liberal model of the world economy which they worship and will not contribute to imposing tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade.

—A few months ago poland embarked on a reform programme. Yet this programme may collapse in a year or two if a global solution to Poland's huge foreign debt is not found within the coming months.

—The Polish postulate of a radical reduction of debt has its historical precedent in the form of the 1953 London agreement on debt between Western creditors and the Federal Republic. The first signs of success of the young liberal German market economy were awarded with a gift which was surely meant as help for self-help and decisively contributed to making a liberal market economy, open to the world, be firmly anchored in the Federal Republic.

—Poland's situation right now is very similar to the then position of the Federal Republic: The reforms have already been introduced, their radical nature leaves no room for skepticism, their first results can already be noticed. What Poland needs is an equally radical decision on "Help for self-help" with regard to reductions of the debt burden, a decision which should not appear as an allowance but as a kind of recognition for the reformatory moves taken. I hope that all those involved will be brave enough to make equally unconventional moves to avoid the failure of this new beginning.

Balcerowicz, Kohl Discuss Bundestag Border Ruling

LD2306022590 Warsaw PAP in English 2039 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Bonn, June 22—On the second day of his 2-day visit to Bonn paid at the invitation of CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Economic Council, Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz met with representatives of the FRG's Government and leading men of business. Balcerowicz paid a visit to Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

It was the first meeting at a high level since yesterday's resolution of the Bundestag concerning the lasting character of the Polish western border. Leszek Balcerowicz told Chancellor Kohl that he regarded his statement in Bundestag as significant both for Poland and Germany.

The talk concerned also bilateral relations in the light of the economic union of the two German states. The chancellor suggested that a meeting be held next Autumn to discuss the consequences of the integration of the economies of two Germanys for Poland, not only to avoid its negative effects but mainly to use the chances the process may create for the development of mutual cooperation.

"I handed over to chancellor kohl a memorandum on the reduction of Polish foreign debt. Some 26 per cent of the government guaranteed credits are owed to the FRG", Balcerowicz said. Helmut Kohl pledged that the memorandum would be a subject of discussion both during an EC meeting in Dublin later this month and during a summit meeting of the seven most industrialized countries to be held in Houston in July.

Earlier, Balcerowicz met with Federal Minister of Economics Helmut Haussmann. In the afternoon, the vice-premier met with Minister of Finance Theo Waigel and SPD [Social Democratic Party] chairman Hans-Jochan Vogel.

Memorandum to EC on Association Agreement

LD2206035390 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 21 Jun 90

[By Pap Correspondent Ireneusz Lukasik]

[Text] Brussels, June 21—Three important events in the Polish-EC relations took place here today. Undersecretary of State at Polands Foreign Ministry Jerzy

Makarczyk conveyed to the vice- chairman of EC Commission Frans Andriessen a memorandum of the Polish Government containing "the Polish idea of agreement on association".

The two politicians signed an agreement on setting up in Warsaw an EC mission which will start its work in a few weeks time. In the evening, Frans Andriessen took part in the official opening of the Polish mission at EC headed by Ambassador Jan Kulakowski.

After his talks in Brussels, Jerzy Makarczyk told PAP: "With the participation of 11 ministries concerned we have prepared a memorandum on the Polish idea of an agreement on association. Informal talks will start in Warsaw in mid-July and the formal ones, when the commission is vested with the mandate." According to Vice- Minister Makarczyk, formal negotiations can start in late September and end after six months.

Former Security Officers Said Working for RSA

LD2206023790 Warsaw PAP in English 2115 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—former functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, especially of the Security Service and officers of the Polish Army, are being sent to South Africa as mercenaries to the police there, said Deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk in a statement during Thursday's Sejm (lower house) debates.

According to Kowalczyk, the business is handled by the Eximp Company from Czestochowa which cooperates with the West German company Atlanta. The deputy referred those interested in more details to Jerzy Jachowicz of the GAZETA WYBORCZA.

Kowalczyk pointed out that Poland which is currently building the foundations of democracy and freedom should not send people to stifle freedom in the Republic of South Africa, stressing that such a procedure breached international conventions which Poland is a signatory to.

Sejm Speaker Comments on Moscow Visit

LD2206225190 Warsaw PAP in English 1546 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—The main aim of our trip to the USSR was to meet representatives of the newly elected Soviet parliament. At the same time, the visit opened up a series of contacts of the present Sejm with East European countries, said Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz in his statement for TV and PAP after returning here from a several-day visit of the Sejm delegation to the USSR.

We made a proposal to our hosts to set up bilateral parliamentary groups in the Sejm and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. So far, there have been no such groups in our 45-year history. The proposal was very well received and we wanted also to complete preparations for a meeting of members of the Foreign Affairs Committees of parliaments of both countries here in July.

Asked about his impressions from talks with Boris Yeltsin, the Sejm speaker pointed out that this was a very interesting, live and controversial personality. Kozakiewicz said Yeltsin had his controversial and unusually bold economic concepts. He said Yeltsin thought that it was possible to switch over to the market system in the Russian Republic in 500 days, without lowering the living standards of working people. Kozakiewicz said that Polish experiences showed it was impossible.

Strzembosz Appointed Supreme Court President

LD2206230790 Warsaw PAP in English 1427 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—At the motion of the Polish president, the Sejm today appointed Professor Adam Strzembosz, 59, first president of the Supreme Court. So far, he was first deputy justice minister and recently he was elected judge of the Supreme court. Seven Sejm deputies voted against and twenty-three abstained.

Strzembosz will assume his function on July 1 and the present term of office of the Supreme Court, shortened by half, will end a day earlier.

Varsovian and graduate of the Jagiellonian and Warsaw Universities, Adam Strzembosz was judge of the Warsaw voivodship court in 1966-1981. In 1980, he organized and chaired the Solidarity commission at the Justice Ministry. He was a delegate to the first Solidarity congress in Gdansk. On December 19, 1981, he was recalled from the post of judge by the Council of State and next dismissed from the Court Law Research Institute. In March 1982, he started working at the Lublin Catholic University.

He is chairman of the commission for law and administration of justice at the citizen's committee attached to Lech Walesa.

He was co-chairman of the commission for the reform of law and courts during the round table debates.

Arrest of Student Leader Munteanu Described

PM2506133490 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 20 Jun 90 p 5

[Gijsbert van Es report under the rubric "Suppressed Voices from Bucharest": "I Can Only Go On Living If I Flee"]

[Text] Marian Munteanu is a philology student. He is leader of the league of students formed in Bucharest in January. Every evening between 22 April and Wednesday last week [13 June] he has addressed the demonstrators in University Square. During the night between Wednesday 13 June and Thursday 14 June he suffered very rough treatment from the miners. Last Monday [18 June] he was arrested. His wife, Claudia, has been staying with the Netherlands ambassador in Bucharest since Monday.

Claudia Munteanu: "At 0600 last Wednesday morning two policemen came to fetch him from home. They wanted to talk to him about the future of the Unifun student radio, they said. He left, and after that I did not see him until the following day, in the hospital.

"Friends have told me that he was held until 1600 or 1700 by the police. After that he went to University Square to calm people down. At 1930 I saw him on the televisions news, on the steps of the law faculty. He was making a speech, calling on people not to use violence.

"He phoned me at 0100 in the morning. He said that he was in the university building on the square. 'Don't worry,' he said, 'I am with friends.' They had barricaded the doors.

"At 0800 on Thursday morning someone phoned from the hospital for emergency cases. He was in an intensive care ward, I was told. I went there immediately. I was not allowed to see him until 1130—they told me that there were no white coats available and that I could not enter the ward without one.

"He had pains everywhere, he had been beaten terribly. His back was black and blue. He was tired, dead tired and dejected. 'I can only go on living if I can get asylum somewhere,' he said. 'They'll kill me in a country where 80% of people do not know what democracy means.'

"After that I went to the district hospital. Marian's brother, Bogdan, is a patient there. Bogdan looks like Marian. He had also been beaten up. At the hospital I bumped into my sister-in-law. 'Don't go and see Bogdan,' she said; 'He is in a dreadful state, worse than Marian. It's better that you don't see him.'

"Outside the hospital we bumped into a friend. I was with my sister-in-law and mother-in-law. The friend was with two plainclothes policemen. Marian had asked me if I would fetch some things from home. I asked the friend to come with me; I was afraid. The policemen also offered to come. I was happy with that, what with all the miners in the city.

"I saw that Victory Square was thick with miners. They were checking cars. I thought: They'll beat us up too if they see our indentification papers. I saw one of the policemen in the car behind us talking to the miners. We were allowed to pass; we weren't checked."

After a short telephone conversation: "They have taken Marian to the psychiatric department of Hospital Number 9. Just like under Ceausescu, they'll drive him mad there."

TV Shows Munteanu in Jail

AU2606084290 Paris AFP in English 0817 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, June 26 (AFP)—Romanian student leader Marian Munteanu, brutally beaten in the miners' crackdown here June 14 and not heard from since his arrest eight days ago, was shown on television held in Jilava jail in the Bucharest suburbs.

Mr. Munteanu, leader of the League of Students, was arrested June 18 while still in emergency care in hospital in Bucharest, and charged with "instigating violence" and "participating in the destruction of public buildings".

Shown lying in bed in pyjamas, he told the television Monday that his arrest had been "completely unjustified" and he had "hundreds, even thousands of witnesses" to back him. The student leader was seriously injured during the assault by miners brought in to end a month-and-a-half long protest by anti-government demonstrators in the capital's University Square. He was arrested four days later, on June 18, but neither his wife, Claudia, who has sought refuge in the Netherlands Embassy here, nor his friends had had any direct information on his whereabouts up to now.

A physician at the penitentiary, Catalin Docoiu, told the television that the records taken on his arrest showed he was suffering from multiple bruises, cuts and a broken hand bone. He said a new medical review would be made under the head of the penitentiary's medical staff, a colonel who refused to appear on camera despite a journalist's urging.

Mr. Munteanu said he was doing "more or less well" despite headaches. He dismissed the accusation charging him with "inciting violence", saying he had already been taken to a police station for questioning when the clashes broke out at University Square. He also said he always stood "against violence" during the occupation of the square, and that he and friends were at the university "solely to protect the building" when the miners intervened. Mr. Munteanu also denounced what he called the "savage manner with which the students were beaten" and said he was "praying to God for real justice".

The protestors had called for the resignation of President Ion Iliescu, who has since come under strong criticism abroad for the June 14 crackdown. His opponents here contend his government is still in the hands of former communists.

Last Thursday, Interior Minister Doru Viorel Ursu told a student delegation that 122 people were still in detention. The government earlier had said 1,021 people were arrested during the turmoil.

Arrest of Free Democratic Party's Leon Described

PM2506115490 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 20 Jun 90 p 5

[Gijsbert van Es report under the rubric "Suppressed Voices from Bucharest": "'Wait,' the Police Said; 'Wait'"]

[Text] Nica Leon, a technician at a factory in Bucharest, became a famous Romanian because of the televised debates from the now dissolved interim parliament. Interim President Ion Iliescu was fiercely attacked on several occasions by Nica Leon, who accused him of having stolen power. Nica (although he is not a Hungarian he always puts his surname first) set up his own party in January—the Free Democratic Party. His party did not win any seats in the elections. Just before the last [Communist] party congress, in November, he sent an open letter full of accusations to dictator Ceausescu—a very dangerous thing to do, but Nica Leon was never persecuted for it.

His wife, Ecatrina: "On Wednesday he was at the party offices the whole day. In the evening, when the television stopped broadcasting, he rang the television center. 'Why are you not going through with the broadcast and why are you not letting people see who is causing all the mayhem?' he asked. 'The transmitter has been wrecked,' a man said, and he laughed.

"On Thursday morning he left the house to go to a meeting of his party. Suddenly at 1600 there was a policeman at the door. He said that Leon had been taken into protective custody at the Interior Ministry to protect him from the miners. The policeman said that my little daughter and I must leave our apartment immediately. 'The miners could come,' the policeman said. We packed a few things and went underground.

"At 2000 Leon rang. He was safe, he said, that was all. He sounded calm. The following day he rang again. He asked about clothes. And he said that I must go to our apartment to let two policemen in. I went; fortunately the miners did not find us. A colonel and a major from the police came. They were friendly. They searched through everything and found nothing. Afterwards I had to sign a paper. They had written: 'Nothing suspicious found.'

"The major gave his name and a telephone number. I could ring at any time if there were problems, he said. On Saturday I rang. The major was not there, a man said. I was to phone back on Monday; the man did not know when Leon would be coming home.

"On Sunday DIMINEATA, a newspaper of the Front, wrote that on Wednesday gypsies, while throwing fire bombs, had been shouting, 'We are Nica Leon's people.'

"On Monday radio and television reported that Leon had been arrested. I only heard this the following morning. I went to the Netherlands ambassador immediately; Leon had already had contacts with him under Ceausescu. The ambassador said that he would try to find out where Leon is. He said that I should also go and ask at the police station. I went. I had to wait and wait. When it was my turn a policeman said that he knew nothing and that he could not find anything out either. 'Just wait,' the policeman said, 'just wait.'"

Bucharest Prosecutor's Office Reports on Arrests

AU2506165290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1624 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/6/1990—In connection with the investigations on establishing the causes and the guilty of the crimes committed between June 13 and 15, 1990, 177 persons are under arrest, of which 54 with criminal record, 72 with no occupation, 128 are Bucharest residents and 49 from other localities.

Excepting Marian Munteanu who was detained, as reported, for penal offences, there is no other student among the arrested.

Penal investigations continue to identify all the persons who participated in or committed acts of violence on those days.

Journalist Rejects Charges of Promoting Violence

AU2506204090 Bucharest ROMANIA MUNCITOARE in Romanian 19 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Vasile Zamfirescu article: "The Fear of the Word"]

[Excerpts] The events that I had to and wanted to witness, the events we saw on television, or the ones that I was told about by others have again thrown me into uncertainty. Messrs. Miners (who have become the first "power" in state), Messrs. Deputies, and Messrs. Senators, who were entrusted—for a certain period—with the destinies of our nation, we let you know, if you have not known so far, that we are also human beings just like yourselves, who breath, think, hope, get angry, and admire something, in other words we live just like any other ordinary human being. If there is something that makes us different, that is only the nature of our profession, the means through which, we earn a better or a worse living, and the wish to be of some use to our fellow human beings, each of us according to his own capabilities. [passage omitted]

We want to remind you, the gentlemen who participated in the action of exercising the state power, that so far no journalist—no matter how exalted or stimulated he was by the scenes of violence—has ever been seen with a club in his hand hitting his fellow citizens, not even when his life was in danger. Some of us are accused of not showing respect or of reflecting the truth. It is better if we let you know that often journalists themselves had no access to the ...truth. It is not the press that should be held responsible for the nature and the origin of the events

but those who determine and carry out certain actions. And the freedom to express opinions is the essential condition of democracy, here, in our country, as well as everywhere! [passage omitted]

Report on 11 Jun Victory Square Demonstrations

AU2506141490 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Ilie Virgil Pascal article: "More Soldiers Than Demonstrators"]

[Text] On Monday, 11 June, an "unauthorized demonstration" took place in front of the Victory Palace in support of the dialogue between the government and the hunger strikers. The government protected itself the best way it could, ordering "great maneuvers" with all types of arms, except for missile troops and the Navy.

Several hundred people, disatisfied with the results of the dialogue came closer to the stairs of the palace. They knelt down in front of the soldiers and started shouting: "Soldiers, soldiers, whom are you protecting?," "Without violence!," "We love you!," and asking for a "televised dialogue!" Immediately, buses and trucks loaded with police, military police, and army troops started arriving. The cordon of soldiers on the steps of the palace doubled, then tripled, and so on and so forth. Other troops took up positions on the Aviatorilor Boulevard side of the palace, while from the Victory Square side, several armored army trucks arrived. A helicopter was flying low above the square.

"Down with the communist government!" "We do not want senators who are activists and delinquents," "Do not break our heads like on the 24th!"

The police troops made a show of force by pushing the demonstrators toward the Victory Square, after which they took up positions on the pavement in front of the palace. "This is a shy police"—somebody said, then others started shouting "You shy ones, You shy ones!"

People could be heard saying: "Oh, God, but they have brought in too many soldiers." "Daddy, will they fire?—No daddy, they do not have any reason to fire...." "Five hundred people, and look how many policemen they have brought!"

Several overexcited citizens were calmed down by the crowd.

"Look at democracy in Romania!"

Leaflets were being distributed from the helicopter. "That is what Ceausescu used to do" somebody commented, "holding a dialogue with us from a helicopter; this is communism!." However, the leaflets were not calling for calm and reason, like on the 21st, they were...invitations to an air show—Baneasa '90; an air show programed for the next Sunday. How nice it is when you have power to play on people's nerves!

A young man turning to a soldier said: "You poor thing, the radio announced a coup attempt again and I am sorry that you were attacked. God bless you!"

As the crowd started to thin out, some turning toward the University, others elsewhere, the policemen started withdrawing as well, cheered by the last ones who stayed behind. Some police students, slightly embarrassed, accepted bunches of flowers....

Defense, Interior Communique Denies Conflict

AU2506140190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Communique issued by the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] Taking into consideration that, as of late, some mass media, both at home and abroad, are spreading the idea of a so-called conflict between the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior, we want to inform the public of the following:

1. Entrusted by the law with the joint mission of defending the ideals and basic values of the revolution, the leaderships and troops of the Ministry of National Defense and of the Ministry of Interior express their complete disapproval of and publicly repudiate any attempt—irrespective on whose behalf it is—to distort—with obviously malevolent intentions—the principled relations established between these institutions, an attempt whose aim it is to create confusion and instability and to harm our Armed Forces' capability to act.

2. In the spirit of current legal provisions, tangible forms of cooperation and collaboration in areas of common interests between the leaderships of the two ministries and at other levels have been achieved and are in the process of being achieved with a view to defending the legal order of our state's main institutions, the democratization process, and our country's independence and integrity.

3. In this context, we appeal to the people not to believe rumors and misrepresentations by some press bodies and radio stations abroad, which are spreading the idea of a rift between the Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Interior and which do nothing but create mistrust in those institutions by blaming—in an unjustified way—the activity of the two ministries, which is exclusively placed in the service of the people.

4. The two ministries believe that it is necessary that public stances on the aforementioned events be preceded by correct and thorough proof, that the tangible situation they face be taken into consideration, and that interpretations leading to confusion, dissension, and the disinformation of the public be avoided.

5. For this purpose—as is the normal procedure in democratic countries—it is recommended for the editorial boards which plan to publish such materials to

consult the press departments of the two ministries beforehand, which are able to provide the relevant material to avoid the publication of unilateral or erroneous information.

6. The Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior once again assure the public in Romania that for their troops there is no nobler purpose than to serve with great devotion—as far as making the supreme sacrifice—the high values of democracy and the supreme interests of our nation.

[Signed] Messrs. Victor Stanculescu and Doru Viorel Ursu

Senate Resumes Proceedings, Views Foreign Affairs

AU2506143390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1355 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Romania's Senate resumed proceedings in plenum on June 25, under the chairmanship of Senate's president academician Alexandru Birladeanu. Senators agreed that foreign policy issues be included at the first item on the agenda. The Senate was intimated about two such issues. First, the official application for Romania's adhesion to the Council of Europe which comprises 23 Western countries. The statute of special invitee, benefiting countries in Eastern Europe was instituted in May 1989. Last March, a Romanian visit by a delegation of the Council of Europe occasioned a first contact of the Romanian officials with that organization.

In view of the organization's statute, it was mentioned that the official application for adhesion was to be addressed by the president of the Senate and the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies to the president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

The Senate unanimously commissioned its Standing Bureau to convey the soonest, together with the Assembly of Deputies a letter of adhesion to the Council of Europe.

The other foreign policy issue on the Senate's agenda is the invitation addressed to the Romanian Parliament to send a delegation of senators and deputies to the extraordinary session of the ordinary committee on relations with European non-member countries due in Innsbruk, on June 29, 1990.

The Senate emphasized the importance of the action and unanimously decided to answer the invitation. The delegation is to be formed of two senators.

Likewise, it was mentioned that invitations of participation had been extended to representatives of the government and also some personal invitations.

Afternoon Session

AU2506165190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1548 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/6/1990—The session of Romania's Senate continued on Monday afternoon with debates on the second and third section of the rules of procedure, referring to legislative procedure and the unfolding of the Senate's sessions.

One hundred of the rules' 166 articles were voted by the end of the session.

Article 98, referring to the journalists' access to the Senate's public sessions, stirred keen interest.

It was decided to resume the works in plenum of the Senate on june 26, 9:00 [0600 GMT].

Deputies Assembly Resumes Proceedings 25 Jun

AU2506165390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1621 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/6/1990—The Assembly of Deputies continued debates on Monday on its functioning rules. With two cons and 26 abstentions an amedment to article 136 was approved so that the deputies have the right to hard-currency exchange in a volume and on terms set by law. The contents were made and unanimously approved regarding the same article: deputies have the right to "an official passport" and pay nothing for telephone or mail communications if they make them while exercising their attributions.

Despite the efforts made, the Assembly of Deputies could endorse only six articles of its functioning rules during its five-day debates. This is not due to obstructions or misunderstandings but to the deputies's wish that their forum be an instrument apt to provide for a smooth run of its activities.

The works of the Assembly of Deputies were adjourned Monday afternoon and are to be resumed Tuesday morning.

Romanian-Soviet Cooperation in Aviation Industry

AU2406191290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1614 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/6/1990—The Aircraft Manufacturing Enterprise of Bacau hosted a festivity occasioned by the finalization and reception of the 1,500th "IAK-52" plane manufactured in cooperation with specialized firms from the Soviet Union. The first aircraft of this kind meant for training was produced in May 1978.

Iliescu, Roman Messages on Iran, China Disasters

AU2506194890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1821 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/6/1990—In connection with the recent earthquake produced in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, sent a message of compassion to President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani whereby he expresses solidarity with the Iranian people so heavily afflicted by this cataclysm, and conveys condolences to the bereaved families.

Romania's prime minister addressed the premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China a telegram of compassion on the casualties and damage produced by the recent floods in that country.

Serbian Constitution, Kosovo Debate Continues

Milosevic on New Constitution

AU2506113790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0908 GMT 25 Jun 90

["Text" of speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, at a joint session of the three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia—live]

[Text] Comrade delegates: The Presidency of the republic has prepared the proposal that is before you in the conviction that a completely new and democratic Constitution of Serbia will enable in the best way possible a unified state and a democratic system to be set up in Serbia, and that at the same time it will thus make a great direct contribution to the joint work in building a new, democratic constitutional system in Yugoslavia as a federation.

The adoption of the new constitution should realize the general political ideal of all the democratic and patriotic forces in Serbia, so that, with its constitution, Serbia should independently, without anybody's tutelage or patronage, set up a single and unified state in all of its territory within the Yugoslavian federation.

We are adopting this constitution at a time when Yugoslavia has begun to become a confederation constitutionally and legally within the existing borders among the republics. Despite these confederal tendencies, a federal Yugoslavia is the basic political premise for Serbia, but precisely because of these confederal tendencies, it is not the only possible political premise.

We think that the federation is necessary and quite attainable only with a full respect for the equality of all the republics, regardless of their internal peculiarities which remain their internal affair, which is to say a subject for their own constitutions. On the basis of this principle, it is possible to establish both the volume and the forms of the realization of federal power.

In this respect, we do not see, and we do not want Yugoslavia as a unitarian state, or rather a federation with a great concentration of state functions. We see it as a democratic federation which, on the basis of joint interests and an equal agreement, the republics and the peoples have set up. It should jointly determine and efficiently implement those functions that above all guarantee the functioning of a successful market economy in a unified Yugoslav market, national equality, the freedoms and rights of citizens, a unified system of defense and equality of the country, and foreign policy.

We are convinced that the idea of Yugoslavism as an expression of the strivings of all our peoples through centuries has not lost its sense, but that it should be built now on new democratic foundations within a federation in which we all together and on an equal footing will implement the joint interests, retaining the right to an independent organization of the republics.

We believe that with our efforts, and the efforts of other republics and peoples who want Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav federation in its existing or somewhat changed form will successfully weather the crisis, and that the Yugoslav peoples will stay together. Anyhow, these peoples are mixed in this territory to such an extent that divisions make no sense.

However, it would be irresponsible toward Serbia and its citizens if under the conditions of such strongly expressed disintegrational and confederal tendencies in some parts of the country we would enter the denouncement of the Yugoslav crisis with a single premise: federal Yugoslavia or the exclusion of any possibility of our existence. Therefore this draft constitution of Serbia is prepared, taking into account another possible option: Serbia as an independent state.

The adoption of the new constitution should, among other things, prevent any attempt at quietly changing Federal Yugoslavia into a confederation, or rather it constitutes the moment when Serbia should clearly state in good time that it links its present administrative borders exclusively to a Yugoslavia constituted as a federation. If changes in the form of the system in Yugoslavia would occur, which is to say if it were to become a confederation, all the constitutional questions would become open.

A confederation is not a state, but a union of independent states, so there can be no confederation—even if all political subjects in Yugoslavia wanted it—with the existing administratively established borders between the republics. In such a case, if one does not want a federal state, the question of Serbian borders is an open political question. [applause]

The first and most important... [Milosevic is interrupted by applause] The first and most important aim of the proposed constitutional reform is to establish a unified Serbia, that is, a sovereign state over the entire territory of our republic. A Serbia like this will at the same time be a sure guarantee of the protection of the interests of the Serbian people living outside Serbia.

With its new constitution, Serbia will bring back completely the statehood it lost on the basis of the provisions from 1971 and 1974 when it was broken up into three separate and mutually opposed wholes in the constitutional-legal, political, and any other sense. As is known, the constitutional setup established then in Serbia itself put the provinces into a dominant constitutional position in relation to the republic to which they belong because Serbia, although it was formally a state, could adopt or amend its constitution only if the provincial assemblies gave their consent.

This provision, which—thanks to the people's movement for the Republic of Serbia—we changed by Amendment 47 last year and thereby brought constitutional

powers back to Serbia, will be written down in the history of constitutional and political theory and practice as an example of a constitutional trick played on the Serbian people. However, at the same time, this provision represents a sorry testimony to the anti-Serbian policy carried out by the Yugoslav top political leadership of that time, as well as testimony to the tragic moral state of the Serbian leadership of that time. Science and history will pass their judgment on why by virtue of the 1974 Constitution the Serbian people alone were denied the right to form their own state and why Serbia as a republic was placed in an unequal position in relation to other republics. However, even now, that is, without waiting for this judgment to be made, one can say that nobody in Serbia believes that this was done by accident to a people which invested in the first south-Slav state in the Balkans its independent statehood with a developed parliamentary democracy and, which is even more important, a people which built into the foundations of that state, as well as into the foundations of socialist Yugoslavia later, so many lives that the losses bordered on biologic extermination. In return, from 1918 to this very day, this people has carried the imposed opprobrium of being the oppressor people.

Serbia is correcting this historical injustice on its own. It is doing so by clearly establishing its own destiny, as well as its relationship with Yugoslavia, by this very proposal on the new Serbian constitution. It must constitute the Serbian state in such a way that there should be no individual states on its territory. Ensuring Serbia's territorial and state integrity is a general national and state interest of all of its citizens, and it must be above the interests of all political parties [stranka] in Serbia.

A unified Serbia is one of the essential conditions of the democratic reconstruction and its constitutional system on the basis of economic freedom, social justice, political democracy, and the national equality of all its citizens. In this respect, Serbia's territorial organization must serve its democratic integration. It should make the progressive social processes in Serbia easier, and not, as has been the case to date, be a cause of divisions and imposition of an asymmetrical state order, something which has established territories ready to secede and has meant a constant threat to Serbia's territorial and state integrity.

The establishment of a unified republic of Serbia will undoubtedly create much greater material and other possibilities for the accelerated economic development and progress of our republic, as well as all-encompassing integration—economic, political, and cultural integration. With this constitution, we are completing our many years of work on the changes to the economic and social system. Thus, we are making a complete break with the errors and mistakes of a consensus economy and the bureaucratic organization of society and with everything that has been imposed by the constitutional provisions of 1974 and which has led Serbia and the whole of Yugoslavia into a serious crisis, regression, and disintegration.

A market economy with a modern economic function for the state and equality of all forms of ownership represent the new constitutional principles. The Constitution guarantees the free movement of goods, labor, capital, and knowledge, the independence of enterprises, the rights of workers derived from their employment and self-management, the full economic equality of peasants and other individual producers, and the inalienable right of people to express all their labor and creative abilities in free competition.

The new constitution should establish a strong and clear legal order which represents the best defense from all arbitrariness. Our own experience shows that the absence of a strong legal order, above all in the economy, has led to serious mistakes in our development and, therefore, with the establishment of firm and simple rules of the game according to the principle of the same yardstick for everyone, we will ensure security in economic operations, better business results, the greater interest of foreign and domestic investors in investing capital in the economy of Serbia, and thus the essential conditions for employment and a greater personal and social standard of living.

On this road, we will have to overcome many difficulties. In this respect, I particularly mean those that concern old methods and the bureaucratic management of the economy and particularly social property, which no one has ever been directly responsible for and worried about and which has been the most unprotected form of ownership. Proceeding from the Constitution, we will ensure that in future it is clearly known who uses and who is responsible for social property. This will not be in the sense of privatization, which could return us to exploitative relations, but in the sense of establishing direct interest in, and responsibility for, every dinar of social capital that is invested in development.

In this transition to new relations, we will not allow social resources to be squandered—resources which are the result of the work of several generations and which belong to the whole society, and even to the children of our children—but we will ensure that they are realistically evaluated and end up in the hands of those who will efficiently, effectively, and productively use them in their own interest and in the interest of social development.

The economic functions which the state must possess in a modern market economy will come to the force in the new constitutional system. We are convinced that the main economic functions should belong to the federation, above all as regards the foreign economic, credit and monetary, and fiscal fields. Therefore, because of these important functions that will lead all of Yugoslávia more speedily to a developed market economy, Serbia is prepared to transfer a part of its sovereignty to the federation. However, if no agreement is reached, this constitution would make it possible for Serbia to develop independently both as a state and as a modern economy. Thus we have no intention any more of placing our fate in the hands of anybody else.

The new constitution creates the conditions for the results of the economic and social development to be justly distributed, and thus to be made accessible to the greatest number of people. This imposes on us the obligation that, along with the development of a market economy, we reduce, through taxation and in other ways, the inequality in the distribution of wealth and income, especially that which does not result from work. Every person is guaranteed that his basic needs in education, health, and culture will be satisfied. All the children of workers, peasants, and all others are given equal chances in education and advancing in life. Pension insurance is guaranteed, and the most deprived strata of the people are offered basic social security.

The sense of the state insisted upon by this constitution and of the social justice that it strives for is that all people should feel secure in their work and life, that they can bring up their children with less worry, and that they can live in comfort in their old age. This is what will make Serbia a stable state and a happy homeland for all the people and all the peoples and nationalities living in it, and what will encourage all creative forces to build a richer and more cultivated and humane society.

On the basis of the new constitution we wish to create conditions so that citizens of Serbia may be proud of being citizens of their republic primarily because they will be politically free and socially secure in it, protected from any violence and pressure.

The historical significance of the proposed constitutional changes also lies in that they set up a completely new democratic political system and constitutional order. Above all, democratic society and a state based on the rule of law are established, with a consistently developed parliamentary democracy on the basis of free elections, a multiparty system, and the separation of powers.

Comrades delegates, all these are new circumstances to which we are yet to get accustomed. Precisely the latest events show that the opposition, the press, and the authorities have a lot to learn about the democratic rules of the game. Perhaps it would be best if they did that jointly in the interest of Serbia.

Speaking about setting up a new democratic society, this is above all a matter of state sovereignty belonging to the citizens, which is to say the people. In this way equality of all the citizens before the Constitution and the law is established as an elementary prerequisite for democracy, a responsible society, and an organized state. The guarantee for such a future democratic order of society is represented by the constitutional provisions that guarantee, directly through the Constitution, the freedoms, rights, and duties of citizens and implement them on the basis of the Constitution. The rights of a citizen may be restricted only by the same rights of other people, or rather by restrictions contained in the Constitution itself.

On the basis of personal national, economic, social, and other rights and freedoms, it is realistic that a democratic parliamentary system of authority be built, based on multiparty elections and the separation of powers between the power holders. A single-chamber national assembly of Serbia should be a democratic national representative body, a legislative power, or rather a legislative organ of the republic composed of people's deputies elected in direct elections with general and equal suffrage and by secret ballot.

The Presidency of the republic should be the head of the state and an expression of state unity, which implies that citizens should elect the president and the members of the Presidency of the republic directly. In this way the necessary equilibrium and stability in the system of power are ensured.

The government should be the highest organ of executive power in the republic. It answers for its work to the People's Assembly, which can give it a vote of no confidence under the constitutionally established conditions.

The whole executive and administrative sphere of authority in the republic should be organized in such a way that it functions in a unified and efficient way on the whole territory of the republic and it is under the constant control of the people and their elected representatives.

The third element of state authority, the judiciary, will be autonomous and independent from all other authority. Judges will be subordinate only to the law, and the Supreme Court of Serbia will be the highest court in the republic.

The public prosecutors' office, as an independent organ of state authority, will carry out its duties solely on the basis of the law, and the republic's public prosecutor will carry out his prosecuting function on the whole territory of the republic. This definition of the position of the courts, above all, will be the main guarantee of the legality and functioning of a law-governed state and an effective protection for citizens' freedoms and rights. I am convinced that on the basis of such provisions, we will establish a democratic order that will be in line with Serbia's democratic spirit of freedom.

Comrade delegates, the establishment of a unified state of Serbia implies changes in defining the position of the autonomous provinces in its composition. We have proceeded from the position that the autonomous provinces are a realistic expression of the specific national, historic, cultural, and other particularities of the regions on which they are formed and that the autonomous rights that emanate from these specificities should be established by the Constitution of Serbia. One also proceeded from the indisputable and not just theoretical but also political stand that the provinces are not and cannot be state communities, that is, they cannot have the features and rights of a state.

In defining the position and rights of the provinces, one has proceeded from the following five essential principles.

The first is the equality and parity of all Serbia's citizens before the Constitution and the law on the whole of its state territory.

The second is guaranteed national equality and guaranteed autonomous rights which are an impression of the national, historical, cultural, and other particularities of the provinces.

The third new constitutional principle is directly linked with the previous two and establishes the obligation that the statute [proposed as replacement for the constitutions of the autonomous provinces], as the highest legal act in the provinces, prevents the inalienable rights of the members of the sovereign Yugoslav peoples from being violated, which has been a mass phenomenon in Kosovo since 1974.

The fourth new constitutional principle is that all autonomous regulations must be in line with the Constitution of Serbia and the corresponding republican regulations, just as the statute of the provinces comes into effect on the basis of consent from the People's Assembly of Serbia.

The fifth constitutional principle establishes the right of the republican administrative organs to ensure the implementation of the regulations of the autonomous provinces if they are not implemented by the provincial organs.

Simultaneously and consistently applied, these principles will be a reliable guarantee that the autonomous provinces within Serbia will be established as democratic forms of territorial autonomy in line with the purpose of their existence, constitutional provisions, and this kind of democratic experience in the modern world.

At the same time, this is the only possible democratic and legal road toward establishing equality of all peoples and nationalities in Kosovo, toward eliminating political violence through majoritarianism, toward achieving equality of all citizens before the law, and toward establishing the full personal security of citizens and the security of their property. These provisions should definitively put an end to the strivings of the Albanian nationalists and separatists for the secession of Kosovo, a so-called Greater Albania, Kosovo Republic, and so forth. The historic and political fact that Kosovo is an integral, inseparable, part of Serbia must be respected to the same extent and in the same way by all the Yugoslav republics, as well as by all other states and international organizations.

Comrades delegates, the proposal that is in front of you represents a basic element of the social reform in Serbia and has some far-reaching consequences. The reform of the political system is a complex operation whose content and the order of moves all represent a whole. We wish this reform be implemented in Serbia in the course of the next few months under conditions of political stability, so that we can successfully realize, unhindered, the great economic and other changes we have planned. I am convinced that the great majority of the citizens of our republic want the reform to be carried out under conditions of political stability and not under conditions of trouble and disturbances. Therefore I believe that it is sensible and responsible toward Serbia and the citizens of Serbia that the reconstruction of the constitutional system of Serbia on new democratic principles be carried out in a constitutional way, which is to say as a lawful and legitimate act, particularly now that with the amendments to the Constitution last year we have created the conditions for us to be able to adopt a new constitution of our republic independently.

This sequence of moves, which constitutes the whole of our proposal, presupposes first the constitution and then the elections, because a reverse order would inevitably produce an unconstitutional situation and would directly open the door to conflicts with unforeseeable negative consequences, especially in Kosovo. Nobody who feels responsible can or may lead Serbia into such a situation.

Although I make a categorical assertion, with a firm conviction in the correctness of the entire proposal we are making, I do not wish to assume the right to proclaim that all the citizens of Serbia think likewise. Therefore, because of the importance and the far-reaching consequences of the proposal for the reform of the political system in Serbia, and in the interest of stable political conditions in Serbia, I propose that citizens should first express their opinion in a referendum on the proposal of the Presidency of Serbia. This will be a simple way... [Milosevic is interrupted by applause] This will be a simple way to remove unnecessary conflicts and deprive the coalition, which is working against Serbia, of any ground to accuse us of seeking to impose a new constitution in an undemocratic way, particularly today when the anti-Serbian coalition is waging an unprecedented campaign against Serbia in the country and abroad and when another sad performance is being held in Kosovo whose directors are bringing even the Provincial Assembly into play.

The anticonstitutional and illegal involvement—in the name of democracy—of even the highest organ of power in the province in the struggle for the Albanian separatist aims proves best that the so-called Albanian democratic alternative movement is nothing else but a nationalist movement in favor of the secession of Kosovo and Metohija, that is, a movement against the state of Serbia and its integrity.

This is why I want to say from this place that the state of Serbia will consider every attempt at seizing its territory to be an act against the state and the people and that it will act accordingly. [applause]

From this place... [applause continues] from this place I also wish to convey to the sober-minded Albanians, all those whose reason has not been disturbed by hatred, that they should not allow the separatists to misuse their lives in the struggle against Serbia which they cannot win. [applause] Let them not... [applause continues] let them not allow the separatists to push them into the ranks on the numerous violent conquerors who assaulted Serbia in the course of history and who all ended in the same way.

They should not allow themselves to be deceived and deluded by lies to the effect that the Assembly of Kosovo could adopt any unconstitutional decision that Serbia would recognize. In the territory of Serbia no power but

Serbia's National Assembly and the people and all the citizens of Serbia can decide on Serbia. [applause]

The Albanian... [applause continues] the Albanian separatists and their allies call us an anti-democratic strong arm regime, and the security forces that in accordance with the Constitution and by the decision of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia perform their duties in Kosovo and Metohija are proclaimed to be murderers. To this shameful abuse of democracy by the so-called Albanian Democratic Alternative, our reply is democracy itself: a general popular referendum. Precisely an abuse of democracy is best defeated by democratic means. And secondly, to any attack on the integrity of Serbia, our reply are the means of a state ruled by law. Therefore, let the citizens decide on the constitutional reform in Serbia, and let us adopt the constitution in peace and under the conditions of political stability.

The Presidency of the republic proposes to the Assembly, first, to adopt the proposal of the Presidency to frame a new constitution of Serbia; second, to adopt a decision on the citizens first expressing their opinion through a referendum for or against such a reform of the political system in Serbia, or rather, to put it quite precisely: to adopt a decision on the opinions being expressed on the proposal that the constitution be adopted in accordance with the initiative of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and that after the constitution is adopted, in accordance with the new constitution of a unified Serbia, elections be held and organs of authority be established.

I firmly believe that the majority of the citizens of Serbia will support these proposals by Serbia's Presidency, because this constitution should bring peace to Serbia, and prosperity to all the people who live from their work and respect other people, and who wish well to their republic. Thank you. [applause]

LC Provincial Committee Meets

LD2306043790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—These days, there are again attempts, at the risk of new confrontations and victims, to bring into being the ominous separatist idea of a "Greater Albania" by teaming up the destructive forces in Yugoslavia on a large scale, and by seeking help outside our country. One also counts on Yugoslavia's disintegration, as the vast incentives for this are coming from the Northwestern Yugoslav republics, particularly in the wake of their elections.

President Rahman Morina said this at today's session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, dedicated to the completion of the public debate on the document entitled: "The Basic Commitments of the Kosovo League of Communists as the Party for Democratic Socialism." He noted that the champions of some of the Albanian alternative movements were misusing the process of the democratization of social relations and attempting to exacerbate intranational relations as much as possible, while being indiscriminate in their choice of the means of and pretexts for their destructive activities. This brings about even deeper national divisions, which are creeping into numerous elements of social life, blocking the system's institutions, and paralyzing many organs, ranging from worker's councils in firms to the provincial assembly and its executive organs.

Morina stressed that the course of the public debate, the basic commitments from the above mentioned party document on the transformation of the League of Communists into a modern democratic party had been supported and voiced their demands of the Kosovo membership for a modern, democratic, and united Serbia. The membership is demanding, he added, that all archives be opened and that Josip Broz Tito's role and position be historically and scientifically evaluated as well as a departure from the negative legacy of the past, its delusions, errors, and mistakes. [passage omitted: a number of Albanian delegates demanded that the current political situation in the province be discussed. The Serbian members criticized the conduct of the Albanian delegates at yesterday's session of the provincial assembly. Finally the agenda was adopted by a majority vote.]

The several-hours-long discussion on the public debate and the adoption of the final version of the document entitled "Basic Orientations of the Kosovo League of Communists as the Party for Democratic Socialism" ended without many concrete remarks and suggestions. The majority of League of Communists members of the Albanian nationality tried to steer the discussion to issues not envisaged by the agenda and which have been, for the past two days, in the focus of interest of the Kosovo Assembly delegates. Redza Kastrati, president of the Malisevo Municipal Committee, went to great lengths to assert, among other things, that "everything that has been happening these days is against the interest of the Albanian nationality." At the proposal of President Rahman Morina, League of Communists members distanced themselves from the above remarks. [passage omitted: Serbian and Montenegrin delegates support the Serbian League of Communists-Socialist Alliance of Working People merger.]

The League of Communists members decided that the Edvard Kardelj Marxist Center of the Kosovo League of Communists in Pristina is to be closed down.

Albanian Parties Support Delegates

LD2206230290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Pristina, 22 Jun (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski savez Kosova] "supports and welcomes the resoluteness of the Albanian delegates to the Provincial Assembly in their insisting on resolutions and initiatives aimed at securing higher

equality for the Albanian minority and the raising of Kosovo to a level of equality within the Yugoslav community." Such assessment on the part of the largest Albanian opposition organization in Kosovo was announced at their regular press conference today.

A letter distributed to journalists stresses that this organization condemns "open obstruction of Provincial Assembly work on the part of the president and his superiors." The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo's leadership expresses its "surprise and indignation," according to the letter, at the unprecedented act of discontinuing the Assembly's work and refusing to include in the agenda an issue "which is in connection with the essential question of the status of Kosovo."

Along with the statement that the present crisis in "the relations between Serbia and Kosovo" started one year ago, when amendments to the Serbian Constitution were adopted, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo representatives consider as illegitimate and deny legitimacy "to any of the announced measures of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Serbia, which, according to their statement, aim at usurping those functions which belong to Kosovo according to the current Constitution". Serbia, provided it perseveres in taking the announced measures, "will have to implement each decision by way of force."

Assembly Rejects Proposal

LD2506142190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1112 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—Delegates of the Serbian Assembly today rejected the amendment of 12 Albanian delegates from Kosovo who motioned that the proposal for passing a new republican constitution be dropped from the agenda.

This group of delegates has said that the republic's Assembly, according to the established procedure, cannot decide on the proposal for adopting a new constitution without first consulting the Provincial Assembly. The Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has not decided on the proposal of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia because, as these delegates pointed out, the president of the Provincial Assembly unjustifiably adjourned its session.

After President of the Assembly of Serbia Zoran Sokolovic explained that "there are no constitutional or procedural reasons for any postponement," the delegates decided against this by an overwhelming majority. Ten delegates voted for the postponement.

Alternative Groups Protest Suspension

AU2506194690

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1700 GMT on 25 June devotes 15 minutes of its regular 40-minute news broadcast to correspondents' reports from Kosovo towns on meetings of Kosovo alternative groups.

A correspondent from Istok states that Kosovo Democratic Alliance and Youth Parliament meetings throughout the commune "condemned the suspension of the Kosovo Assembly session" on 20 June, and stated that "the act preventing the new Constitution of Kosovo is a savage attack on the sovereignty of the Kosovo people, and shows who is contributing to the destruction of togetherness." The alternative movements "condemned the behavior of president Bozovic, who flagrantly maltreated the Albanian delegates," "acting according to a well-known scenario which violates Albanian rights"

A correspondent from Gnjilane states that "meetings of the alternative movements are still denouncing the interruption of the proceedings of the Kosovo Assembly by Djordje Bozovic, and are demanding that he be called to account as soon possible because of his failure to heed the demands of the Albanian delegates, who represent and protect in parliament the interests of the majority population of Kosovo." The alternative meetings are reported as saying that "the Albanian people will decide their own destiny and position in a Yugoslav federation or confederation."

A correspondent from Titova Mitrovica reports that "people's assemblies have been held denouncing the unprecedented and arrogant behavior of Bozovic and his fellow-thinkers," and asking of the Albanian delegates of the Kosovo Assembly "commitment, vigilance, and determination is presenting and realizing the demands of the whole people of Kosovo in this Assembly," The delegates are urged not to give way to "the attacks of the enemies of this people, who are seeking to transform the Assembly into that of Prizren in 1946 or that of March 1989."

Correspondents from Suva Reka, Malisevo, and Podujevo report Kosovo Democratic Alliance and Youth Parliament meetings raising the same protests and demands, and collecting voluntary financial contributions for the Albanian-language service of Pristina Radio and Television.

New Constitution Proposal Adopted

AU2506205990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] The Assembly of Serbia has endorsed the proposal to adopt a new republican constitution. This proposal was submitted by the Presidency of Serbia. Most delegates voted for this decision, which is a first step toward adopting a new constitution. Nine delegates voted against the proposal and two abstained.

At the same time, the Assembly set 1 and 2 July as the dates for a republican referendum. The citizens of Serbia will vote on the Assembly decision to adopt a new constitution and to schedule elections in line with the new constitutional provisions.

A speech was given by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia, which was followed by a debate lasting several hours.

Raskovic on Serbia's, Federation's Future

AU2506092090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jun 90 p 7

[Interview with President of the Serbian Democratic Party Jovan Raskovic by Snjezana Stamatovic; place and date not given: "Serbs by Birth, Home in Croatia"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Stamatovic] What is the attitude of the Serbian Democratic Party toward Serbia, and we would also be interested to hear your views on the political scene in Serbia.

[Raskovic] You know what: The most important thing for us is not to depend in an infantile fashion on anybody, and therefore also not on Serbia. We are Serbs by birth, but our homeland is Croatia. Therefore we are interested in Croatia at least as much as we are interested in Serbia. We believe in democratization in Serbia and in the victory of democratic forces, but we do not tie ourselves to Serbia. As a party, we have entered Serbia, we have entered Belgrade by the main entrance.... Now on Sunday [17 June] we are going to Sombor and Novi Sad and if we run in elections in Serbia, we will be a part of the democratic forum, but we are not inclined to any extremist positions. To put it frankly, we do not support Seselj's positions, because we cannot now search for a solution in some retrograde and old values, and on the other hand we also blame this present Croatian government of being retrograde in the so-called national and ethnic sovereignty, so that it would completely lack seriousness if we were to present this ethnic sovereignty as a kind of an undemocratic system in Croatia, but to support in Serbia an even more retrograde sovereignty of a monarchic kind.

This does not enter our minds, but not because we would find kings and kingdoms odious. I personally believe that King Peter is one of the most tragic figures in Serbian history, but this does not mean that I would support a monarchy. His tragic quality is close to me and it is really deep. Time has put on his shoulders a tremendous burden and he in fact floated on the political seas supported some time by some people and then by others, negated some time by some people and then by others, so that I do not think that Serbia as a kingdom would now function any better than communist Serbia. This idea of merging the Communist Party and the Socialist Party is not acceptable to me, but everybody has the right to organize the way he thinks best. The final will of the people is the essential answer. The people will say to whom they give their confidence.

At the moment, the subject of the state system in Yugoslavia is topical.

[Stamatovic] There are two options: confederation or federation. It is known that the Serbian Democratic Party is in favor of a federation.

[Raskovic] We are in favor of a federation but not on the old foundations. We want Yugoslavia to be set up because Yugoslavia is a rare country about whose date of birth discussions are held. It is my position that it was formed in 1918 on the sufferings of its peoples. However, there is a thing about Yugoslavism that has not been thoroughly cleared up. For the Serbs, Yugoslavism is something identical with Serbianism. There is an alloy of Yugoslavism and Serbianism. For other peoples, this alloy does not exist and therefore this is one of the greatest faults in the political and psychological life of Yugoslavia.

One people identify with Yugoslavia and other people accept it conditionally. One people entered Yugoslavia with an open heart with full emotional engagement, but others entered it rationally, accepting it as a shelter, and they have a completely different attitude to Yugoslavia from the Serbian people.

Federalism is something that is tied to the ideas of the Serbian people, and considering that we are a Serbian party, we think that federalism is something that must continue to exist. After all, Europe also considers Yugoslavia a unity not only in a geographic but also a political sense. As regards a confederation, nobody in the world now knows what a confederation is. One talks about a confederation in the same way that one talked about freedom in 1968. Everybody wanted freedom but nobody knew how to organize it. What is being demanded—that confederation would mean one's own money and one's own army—is no longer a confederation, it is an independent state. One should not create an independent state under the cover of a confederation. [passage omitted]

'Sooner We Part, the Better'

LD2506123490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—"Yugoslavia cannot exist as a democratic state and the sooner we part, the better," leader of the extremist nationalist Serbian Chetnik movement Vojislav Seselj said in an interview to the Zagreb daily VECERNJI LIST on Monday [25 June].

Asked about the upcoming multi-party elections in Serbia, expected by the end of the year, Seselj stressed that "no party will win more than 50 per cent of the votes." Therefore, "some kind of a coalition will probably be formed."

"The most essential thing is that the Communists do not win," He stressed that the gap between himself and Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian leader and only candidate for president of the Serbian socialist party [as received], are unbridgable.

"Mr Milosevic is the Communist leader of current Serbia, while I belong to the most radical Serbian opposition," Seselj told VECERNJI LIST.

The Chetnik movement was formed at the end of the 19th century, at the height of the Balkan states' struggle

against Turkish oppression, as a freedom fighting movement. During World War Two the Chetniks collaborated with the occupying troops of Nazi Germany.

Daily Comments on Change in Armed Forces' Role

LD2506123290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1112 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—All necessary conditions are being created for making the Yugoslav People's Army nonpolitical and, consequently, professional, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes on Monday [25 June].

Until recently, the Army was one of the key political factors in Yugoslavia, the paper says.

It cites "disintengration of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia" as a proof of this claim, saying this has resulted in the Army's "losing the most important manoeuvring space for its political activity—plenums of the League of Communists Central Committee."

The "Army's approval of political pluralism within the socialist alliance only has fallen through" with the multiparty elections in two Yugoslav republics, Slovenia and Croatia, and announced similar elections in other republics, writes VJESNIK.

It notes that the Army stands on Yugoslavia's federative order and precedence of the federal over the republican constitutions are also under the question mark.

The opposition won recent elections in Slovenia and Croatia, which now insist on a confederative system to replace Yugoslavia's federative system.

Referring to last week's speech by Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zivko Pregl to the officers of the Belgrade Army garrison, when he announced further disburdening of Yugoslavia's economy, the paper concludes by saying that this would mean "less money for the Army, which will thus be forced to become more rational, but by no means less efficacious."

Claims of Forming 'Greater Bulgaria' Assailed

LD2506181990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—The raising of the question about the position of the Macedonian national minorities in Bulgaria and Greece at the Copenhagen conference by the Yugoslav delegation has been used as a pretext in Bulgaria for launching a campaign against Yugolavia, reviving the well-known accusations against Yugoslavia and openly laying claims to parts of Yugoslavia.

There have been no official reactions in Bulgaria so far, but reports from the Copenhagen conference have been given prominence by virtually all the Bulgarian party media.

All political parties in Bulgaria share the opinion that no Macedonian nation exists and have, through their media, expressed "concern for the fate of the 1.2 million Bulgarians in the socialist Republic of Macedonia."

The Socialist newspaper DUMA has qualified the Yugoslav delegate's speech at the Copenhagen conference as a "new attempt at interference in the internal affairs of Greece and Bulgaria." It is characteristic that the organ of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, DEMOKRACIYA, has presented an indentical view as Socialist leader Aleksandar Lilov and Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov and said that there are "no political, historical or any other grounds for the claims that there exists a Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria."

Placing the entire problem in the context of the "difficult political situation in Yugoslavia, especially in 'Communist' Serbia," the Bulgaria press is very vocally accusing Yugoslavia of "undemocratic methods and communism."

A culmination of the latest waves of the Great-Bulgarian campaign is an extensive interview with Docent Stmfa Trifonov published in today's issue of POGLED, the newspapers of the journalists' union which has a circulation of 420,000. Talking abot the "fate of the Bulgarian minorities in other countries," Trifonov without any hesitation talks about the "million-strong Bulgarian population in Yugoslavia." The interview has been illustrated, without any explanation or reservations, with a map of Greater Bulgaria, whose borders include the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and parts of the Republic of Serbia, and on which the areas around the towns of Nis, Pirot and Leskovac in Serbia are marked as predominantly populated by ethnic Bulgarians.

Loncar Arrives in Algeria for Talks

LD2306161490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1426 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Algiers, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar arrived here Saturday [23 June] on an official two-day visit to Algeria. The visit is part of the efforts to revive high-level political contacts—recently somewhat slackened—between the two nonaligned countries, traditionally linked with friendly relations and well-developed economic cooperation.

Loncar will be received this afternoon by Algerian Prime Minister Mouloud Hamrouche. Political talks between Loncar and Algerian Foreign Minsiter Sid Ahmed Ghozali, opening this evening, will focus on the strengthening of bilateral cooperation, the Nonaligned Movement's activity under new, politically changed circumstances in the world, and questions of Mediterranean cooperation.

Meets With Hamrouche

LD2406163890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1446 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Algiers, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—Algerian Prime Minister Mouloud Hamrouche and Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar today said that the Yugoslav-Algerian economic cooperation has big chances of developing further after several years of stagnation.

They added that it is necessary, however, to expand the two countries' economic ties with new forms of cooperation.

Hamrouche also proposed the setting up of a joint bank for financing Yugoslav-Algerian economic deals. The bank would be open to foreign capital, especially from Europe and the Arab countries.

Hamrouch and Loncar said that the two non-aligned countries' internal development is similar and that they share many views on the international situation.

The two officials said that the current radical economic reforms in Yugoslavia and Algeria should (?ease) the restoration of mutual economic cooperation, especially in the sphere of the power industry, agriculture, industrial cooperation and joint ventures.

The talks also covered the latest events in Europe, the activities of the non-aligned movement in new conditions, the developing countries' lasting interests for establishing a more just world economic system and especially the mediterranean countries' cooperation.

Loncar invited Hamrouche to visit Yugoslavia on behalf of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

Suspension of U.S.-PLO Dialogue Questioned

LD2506144690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1402 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—"We regret that the direct dialogue between the United States and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has been broken off, especially as it was expected significantly to contribute to the peace process in the Middle East and the solution of the Palestinian question," a spokesman of the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat has stated to TANJUG in connection with the U.S. decision to suspend its dialogue with the PLO.

The spokesman said that the U.S. decision had come at a particularly unfavourable moment. "The very strained situation in the Middle East underscores the need for the peace process to continue, for stronger demands to be made for the broken off dialogue to be renewed as soon as possible, and for all factors constructively to contribute to the cause of peace in the Middle East," the spokesman set out.

Foreign Policy Talks Held With USSR

LD2506221990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2054 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union expect the launched process of change in Europe to be directed to the preservation of security of all European countries, the stand was expressed today at the continuation of talks between the delegations of the foreign policy committee of the two countries' parliaments.

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Foreign Policy Committee Aleksandr Dzhasohov said that this country (?urges) that the West and East European pacts strengthen political, instead of military activities in order to integrate into the concept of security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE) while they still exist.

Today's talks described the process of German unification as part of promoting European cooperation. The Soviet Union is interested in the process not only as a superpower, but as an economic partner of both German states.

Moscow believes that Europe should set up certain institutions as guarantees of military and other international aspects of German unification.

The Soviet Union is seeking ways to stabilize the shaken up East European alliance and launch cooperation, including parliamentary, with new non-communist regimes, it was said during today's talks.

The Soviet parliamentary delegation expressed interest in the activities of the non-aligned movement which they described as an important factor on the international scene.

The head of the Yugoslav parliamentary delegation, Aleksandr Simovic, explained that Yugoslavia as the chair-country of the movement, urges that it play a modern role in the settlement of global problems.